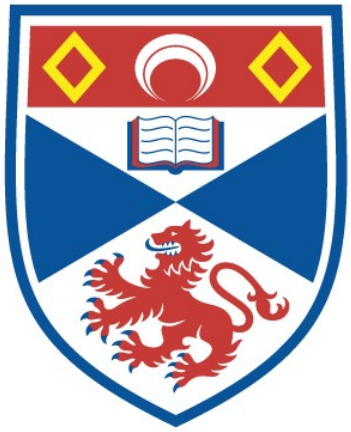
MAN UP: A STUDY OF GENDERED EXPECTATIONS OF MASCULINITIES AT THE *FIN DE SIÈCLE*

Morna Bowman Ramday

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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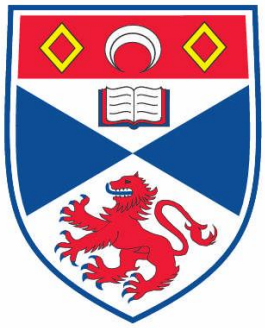

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ABSTRACT

The main themes of this thesis are masculinities, fluctuations in socially constructed gender roles at the *fin de siècle* and how a number of cathartic issues influenced these. The strongest of these issues was the New Woman Question which, while demanding developments for women, threatened the stability of Victorian gender norms. This forced both sexes to rethink and renegotiate their positions within society. Women sought options that would free them from the vagaries of the marriage market and looked to move into a more public sphere. Many saw this as a threat to the patriarchal *status quo* and the debates that ensued were many and vociferous. In response to this, men had to look within and question various modes of masculinity and manliness that they had previously taken for granted and that they now viewed as under threat.

The *fin de siècle* was a time of major gender upheaval which, I propose, is reflected in its literature. I intend to explore the anxieties of both genders by examination of the selected texts which cover pertinent aspects of the similarities and contrasts in the way male and female authors negotiate masculinities in relation to social and gendered spaces. In this way, I hope to investigate the underlying themes which inform the novels. I aim to research reasons for disparity in approaches to gender issues, to highlight the importance of masculinities in relation to gendered positions in *fin-de-siècle* discourses and to show why relations between the sexes had to evolve.

DECLARATION

1. Candidate's declarations:

I, Morna Bowman Ramday, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 80,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in [month, year] and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in [September, 2008]; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between [2008] and [2014].

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CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used throughout the text:

A	*The Awakening.*
AO	*Adnam's Orchard.*
D	*Dracula.*
DD	*The Daughters of Danaus.*
DG	'Dracula's Guest'.
HT	*The Heavenly Twins.*
S.C.L.A.	Shakespeare Centre Library and Archives.
SS	*The Sorrows of Satan.*
T	*Trilby.*
WC	*The White Company.*
WV	*The Winged Victory.*
YW	'The Yellow Wallpaper'.

INTRODUCTION

Get up, stand up
Stand up for your rights
Get up, stand up
Never give up the fight.[1]

> The grooming of young men to have a feeling of entitlement by [...] parents breeds a sense of masculinity and male privilege. [...] Such an upbringing ill-prepares them for the modern world of independent, capable women. [...] When women do not cower or display their vulnerability, what follows is a sense of emasculation and grievance on the part of these men. [...] Female empowerment is totally unsettling to many men. It has shaken up their sense of entitlement and their response is [often] violent and volatile.[2]

This quotation could almost represent a summary of the thesis that follows here; however, this comment does not relate to the Victorian *fin de siècle*, but to modern India. What it does help to highlight is how relevant studies of historical literature are to modern thought and how, by studying and interpreting the information they hold, we can open discussions relating to current problematic gender issues. Michael Roper and John Tosh think that 'the historical approach offers the best opportunity for exploring the meaning of gender as power: for seeing masculine and feminine identities not as distinct and separate constructs, but as part of a political field whose relations are characterised by domination, subordination, collusion and resistance.'[3] By exploring historical gender concerns in this thesis, I will argue that gender relations are inseparable from social structures and that changes must be co-dependent between both genders and within society as a whole. The *fin de siècle*, in particular, was a time of increasing self-consciousness regarding changes to the fundamental tenets of society, especially those pertaining to marriage, sex and

[1] Bob Marley, 'Get up, Stand up' (Jamaica: April, 1973), copyright, Bob Marley and Peter Tosh.
[2] Francis Elliott, *The Times* (Friday 21st December 2012), p. 35.
[3] Michael Roper and John Tosh, eds., *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 8.

gender matters. Political changes in the mid-nineteenth century had led to security and opportunities that, as in modern India, had hitherto been unthinkable for women. Movements towards reform included changes in the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 which, while still maintaining a double standard for men and women regarding divorce on the ground of adultery, did further women's independence by offering 'protection of judicially separated property' alongside the 'addition of cruelty and desertion for two years to the aggravated causes for divorce for women'.[4] In 1869, the law was amended again to allow women to 'testify in their own defence' and to allow 'their barristers to cross-examine witnesses'.[5] Although gender equality under divorce laws was not achieved until 1922, the nineteenth-century amendments did indicate a shift in attitude that began to recognise the woman as having an identity separate from her husband. The later changes to the Married Woman's Property Acts of 1870 and 1882 saw opposition from men and women organising campaigns for reform – although still being firmly in support of marriage itself. It was not until the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866 and 1869 that women began to realise that men exploited their bodies with a double-standard that they found impossible to accept and they gradually became more radicalised in their approach to change.[6] These changes in outlook came alongside new opportunities for education and employment with the opening of such institutions as Cheltenham Ladies' College and Girton College which helped to expand possible horizons and in so doing reduced dependency on marriage.[7] As the *fin de siècle* approached, the new-found freedoms

[4] Anne Humphries, 'Breaking Apart: the Early Victorian Divorce Novel', Nicola Diane Thompson, ed., *Victorian Women Writers and the Woman Question* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 43.
[5] Humphries, 'Breaking Apart: the Early Victorian Divorce Novel', p. 51.
[6] Details of the Married Women's Property acts, the Matrimonial Causes Acts and the Contagious Diseases Acts can be found in Elizabeth M. Craik, ed., *Marriage and Property* (Great Britain: Aberdeen University Press, 1984).
[7] Details of these and other opportune changes pertaining to women can be found, among others, in Carol Dyhouse, *Feminism and the Family in England 1880-1939* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989); Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); Jane Robinson, *Bluestockings: The Remarkable Story of the First Women to Fight for an Education*

women were able to explore contributed to worries concerning the perceived sphere allocated to them as many women sought a move from the confines of the private sphere to a more public arena. The new radical thinkers developed a suspicion of marriage as it stood and challenged the use of this institution as a tool for the subjection of women. Some Victorian men, many of whom, in the nineteenth century, had seen the public sphere as exclusively theirs, felt both their masculinity and male privilege threatened and were confused by women's challenges and their attempted encroachment into perceived male domains. It proved difficult for patriarchal society in general, which had grown familiar with traditional spheres, to comprehend women's motivation to change the *status quo*.

In this thesis, the public sphere is defined as a discursive arena where men set themselves in relation to their society and its needs. Women's attempts to enter this sphere were seen by many as a challenge to the basic tenets of an androcentric society.[8] Female encroachment into this sphere was seen as a destabilising threat, not only to patriarchy and masculine pride, but to social and economic order. In the 1960s, Jürgen Habermas defined the Bourgeois Public Space as a masculine creation of late eighteenth-century Germany in response to the rapid expansion of commerce and literary activity within Europe at that time. [9] He based his ideas on the Ancient Greek perceptions where 'the public sphere was constituted in discussion' and 'the private sphere was attached to the house'.[10] The basic theory saw

(London: Penguin, 2009); Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (New York: Penguin, 1991).

[8] The term 'androcentric' is attributed to Charlotte Perkins Gilman; she uses it to describe 'a masculine culture in excess'. Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1911), *The Man Made World* (New York: Cosimo, 2007), p. 7.

[9] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), p. 2. (Ideas pertaining to Habermas's theories of the Public and Private Spheres, as discussed in this thesis, can be found in this volume.)

[10] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, p. 3.

> the public sphere as a realm of freedom and permanence. Only in the light of the public sphere did that which exists become visible to all. In the discussion among citizens issues were made topical and took shape. [...] Just as the wants of life and procurements of its necessities were hidden inside the *oikos* [house or family], so the *polis* [city] provided an open field for honourable distinction: citizens [within the *polis*] indeed interacted as equals. [...] virtues [displayed in open interaction] were the ones whose test lies in the public sphere and there alone receive recognition.[11]

Hegemonic confinement of women to the private sphere thus operated to 'the systematic profit of some groups and to the systematic detriment of others'.[12] Within the *fin de siècle,* many more women realised that the private sphere was intrinsically inadequate as, trapped within it, they were precluded from an expansion of their environment that would allow them the creation of a discursive space from which they could 'become visible to all' in order to instigate change.

In 1990, Nancy Fraser sought to redefine and extend Habermas's theory; she pointed out that, in studying how these spheres are utilised, one comes to the 'discovery that conflicts of interests are real and the common good is chimerical.'[13] Her ideas echo views that emerged in the *fin de siècle* where social relations were, to many, a grotesque product of the male imagination. Fraser's theories further explain emerging discursive opportunities that began to offer the New Woman a way to share ideas within a supportive environment. Fraser suggests the emergence of

> *subaltern counterpublics* in order to signal that there are parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinate social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses, which in turn permit them

[11] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,* p. 4.
[12] Nancy Fraser, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy', *Social Text,* No 25/26 (1990), p. 72.
[13] Fraser, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy', p. 72.

> to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests and needs.[14]

Emerging *fin-de-siècle* subaltern counterpublics created a space within which the New Woman could instigate a reverse discourse in response to the dominant discourse of the hegemonic majority.[15] In actualising these processes, late nineteenth-century women could explore options that would enable them access to expanded public arenas. As Foucault proposes in his account of modern and reverse discourses:

> we must be ready to receive every moment of discourse in its sudden irruption [...]. We must show that they [discourses] do not come about of themselves, but are always the result of a construction the rules of which must be known and the justification of which must be scrutinised: we must define in what conditions and in view of which analysis certain of them are legitimate; and we must indicate which of them can never be accepted in any circumstances.[16]

New Women began to define which of these conditions could 'never be accepted'. In a letter to Havelock Ellis, Olive Schreiner's strength of feeling clarifies this:

> I can't live on dependence [...], better to die of cold and hunger or thirst than to be robbed of your freedom of action, or of your feeling that you are an absolutely free and independent unit.[17]

Along with many of her era, Schreiner was compelled by these feelings and used her writing to create an environment for feminist ideas to be debated in a public domain. New Women championed a breadth of debate to empower access to a variety of freedoms. In

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[14] Fraser, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy', p. 67.

[15] The concept of a dominant discourse creating a space for the emergence of a reverse discourse is a Foucauldian theory and can be found in Michael Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: The Will to Know* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990). (Originally published in French (Paris: Gallimard, 1976).)

[16] Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge* (Oxford: Routledge, 2002), p. 28. (Originally published in French (Paris: Gallimard, 1969).)

[17] Olive Schreiner, Letter to Havelock Ellis on 29th March, 1885 in *Schreiner's Letters, Volume 1: 1871-1899*, ed. Richard Rive (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 63.

the argument that follows, these theories provide a means for thinking about fields of discourse the New Woman wished to establish in their attempts to reconstruct many of the rules enforced by an androcentric society.

While improved legislation in the decades preceding the *fin de siècle* had given women a more autonomous position regarding property, education, children and divorce, Charlotte Perkins Gilman accentuated women's need 'to point out how far we have already gone in the path of improvement, and how irresistibly the social forces of today are compelling us further'.[18] Although American, Perkins Gilman promoted the same desire for economic independence and autonomy that English New Woman reformers were seeking. Indeed, taking into account Perkins Gilman's nationality alongside authors such as Schreiner, a South African, and George Egerton (Mary Chavelita Dunne), an Australian of Irish descent, provides an indication that the feminist movement was not, as a phenomenon, exclusively English. Reform was being sought by women, in various countries, whose ideas circulated within a selection of international subaltern counterpublics and created effective counterdiscourses. This, in turn, encouraged the participation of significant numbers of women to explore a metamorphosis in their gender identity that would allow them access to the 'freedom of action' and of feeling that these writers and others so desperately desired. In this thesis, I aim to explore literary discourses surrounding the *fin-de-siècle* Women Question in order to highlight the corresponding quandary of masculinities under threat by alterations to conventional gender spheres. In order to do this, I will examine interaction between texts by both male and female authors,

[18] Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *Women and Economics: A Study of the Economic Relation Between Men and Women* (1898) (New York: Prometheus Books, 1994), p. xiii. (All future reference to this text will be to this edition.) (A fuller discussion on the legal position of women in the nineteenth century can be found in Phillip Mallett, 'Woman and Marriage in Victorian Society', Elizabeth M. Craik, ed., *Marriage and Property*, pp. 159-189.)

mainly covering the period between 1885 and 1915, with the main focal point being the final decade of the nineteenth century.

Much modern criticism on gender focuses on either women's struggles or those pertaining to masculinity.[19] Elaine Showalter's study of changing approaches to sexuality in *Sexual Anarchy* (1991), and of the differing approaches to the recognition and treatment of hysteria in *Hystories* (1997), reveals both the *fin de siècle* as an age deeply conflicted in its thinking about gender roles and identity and of the continuation of these conflicts into modern times.[20] Angelique Richardson's anthology, *Women Who Did: Stories by Men and Women, 1890-1914* (2002), draws on a diversity of writings and images in a way that suggests how widespread anxieties about gender roles and identity had become.[21] By including work from both sexes, it begins to show that it was not only New Women who were showing concern with possible changes to the *status quo*. *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle* by Sally Ledger (1997), provides an insight into the struggles of the New Woman and what contemporary nineteenth-century writers considered challenging or contentious texts. However, when it came to male-authored texts, *Dracula* in particular, feminist interpretations such as those by Showalter and Ledger emphasise the inadequacies of the male characters and pay insufficient attention to Stoker's own critique of conventional masculinities, and to his recognition of the changing conceptions of masculine behaviour. I thus felt there was an opportunity to explore the

[19] Writers such as: Elaine Showalter, Angelique Richardson, Sally Ledger, Lucy Bland, Sandra M. Gilbert, Susan Gubar and Julia Kristeva are among the well-recognised names who discuss issues pertaining to feminism. Masculinies are similarly examined; those contributing to this debate include: Michael Kimmel, John Tosh, Richard Dellamora, J.A.Mangan, James Walvin, Michael Messner and Joseph Bristow. There are many other names in both fields; this is only a small illustrative selection.

[20] Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (New York: Penguin, 1991) and *Hystories: Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Culture* (New York: Picador, 1997).

[21] Angelique Richardson, *Women Who Did: Stories by Men and Women, 1890-1914* (London: Penguin Books, 2002).

view of these changes from a male perspective in order to detect whether these male-authored texts provided parallel discourses with New Woman thought.

Moving on to critics writing on masculinity, *A Man's Place* by John Tosh (1999) afforded an insight into late-Victorian patriarchal practices and expectations.[22] Lucy Bland's study of sexual politics in the *fin de siecle*, *Banishing the Beast* (2002), led me to consider Victorian positions on education and suppression pertaining to sex and sexual morality within the gender divide that would be pertinent to my field of study.[23] Michael Kimmel's explorations in *The Gendered Society* engaged me with the idea of the 'fluid assemblage' of gender constructions.[24] In a lecture at the London School of Economics in January 2012, Professor Kimmel gave his opinion that women's studies do not include men.[25] This continued the link I sought to create between New Woman ideals of masculinity and the fact that, for men, their public and private gender performances could neither be compartmentalised nor easily negotiated. There is, among male critics, a conviction that men, both historically and at present, are influenced and shaped by society's expectations of manly behaviour. Leo Braudy's work, *From Chivalry to Terrorism* (2003), led me to a realisation that men through the ages have followed codes which guide them towards defining their masculinity.[26] It seemed to me that, if women demanded change, men may seek to negotiate these codes and explore where changes could occur without threatening their belief in themselves as men. Following on from this, by investigating male and female views alongside each other, I hope to explore

[22] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (London: Yale University Press, 1999).
[23] Lucy Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Feminism, Sex and Morality* (London: Tauris Park Paperbacks, 2002).
[24] Michael Kimmel, *The Gendered Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 94.
[25] Michael Kimmel, *Gender and Men's Studies: Peril or Promise*, L.S.E. Public Lecture (16th January 2012).
[26] Leo Braudy, *From Chivalry to Terrorism: War and the Changing Nature of Masculinity* (New York: Vintage, 2003).

correlations in the issues addressed by authors of both sexes as they negotiated gender transitions in the *fin de siècle*.

The Newtonian law that 'for each and every action there is an equal and opposite reaction' can be seen in the male response to female demands - what Roper and Tosh refer to as 'a relational approach to gender'.[27] As women authors criticised traditional male behaviour while accentuating its detrimental effects on their lives, so male authors took on the task of contemplating traditional masculinities to distinguish which aspects should be changed while exploring those they considered worth saving. I hope to show that there were levels of positive action and reaction between male and female-authored texts of the time. The authors selected will include those of differing nationalities to illustrate that gender imbalance was an international concern within English-speaking nations. Thus, texts by Schreiner, Perkins Gilman and Kate Chopin will be analysed alongside those of like-minded English authors including: Sarah Grand, Mona Caird, Ella Hepworth Dixon, Marie Corelli and Ouida. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and Bram Stoker were at pains to create heroes who would epitomise a quality and bearing of masculinity that would show unambiguous manliness. As a result of this, the Sherlock Holmes stories and *Dracula* will form the basis of the male viewpoint which will also encompass works by Henry James, Rudyard Kipling, George Gissing and Grant Allen, among others, together with a selection of critics such as Hugh Stutfield and Eliza Lynn Linton who added their opinions to the discursive field which addressed issues pertaining to both genders.

Even now, masculine and feminine identities are so inextricably interwoven that the search for change in one must, of necessity, impact on the other. Thus, if women's

[27] Roper and Tosh, eds., *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800*, p. 12.

roles change, especially when they seek more power in a domain that is traditionally male, some men may see this as a challenge to their masculinities, notably to those aspects involving their traditional power bases established within a patriarchal framework. The problem that India currently faces with the perceived emasculation of much of its male population, relates to Michael Kimmel's ideas of constructed manhood:

> I view masculinity as a constantly changing collection of meanings that we construct through our relationships with ourselves, with each other, and with our world. Manhood is neither static nor timeless; it is historical. Manhood does not bubble up to consciousness from our biological makeup; it is created in culture. Manhood means different things at different times to different people. We come to know what it means to be a man in our culture by setting our definitions in opposition to a set of "others" – racial minorities, sexual minorities, and, above all, women.[28]

That for centuries men have regarded women as the "other" by which they can view and assert their manhood through suppression and victimisation of the sex they see as weaker than themselves is documented in both fact and fiction. However, it was only in the 'early 1980s' that 'the word "gender" [was used] to describe' the 'systems of sexual differentiation'.[29] Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks says that 'at that point, [historians] differentiated between "sex", by which they meant physical, morphological, and anatomical differences (what are often called biological differences) and "gender", by which they mean culturally constructed, historically changing, and often unstable systems of difference.'[30] This remains how the subjects are approached today, but for Victorians there was not this clear-cut division.

[28] Michael Kimmel, The *Gender of Desire: Essays on Male Sexuality* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), p. 25.
[29] Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Gender in History* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), p. 2.
[30] Wiesner-Hanks, *Gender in History*, p. 2.

Nineteenth-century attitudes to the sexes were governed by perceptions of biological differentiation. There is a line in Ouida's novel, *Under Two Flags* (1867), which encompasses the idea of gender difference as the hero, Bertie Cecil, cries 'slow blinding tears; tears as sweet as a woman's in her joy, bitter as a man's in his agony'.[31] Inherent in this quotation is the notion of the soft, delicate passivity of woman juxtaposed with the strength and active aggression of man. These concepts of gender by biological distinction were perpetuated by the Victorian medical profession. Medical articles from the mid-nineteenth century provided the basis for *fin-de-siècle* thought and show clear delineation between female and male maladies; women were classed under the uterine economy and men by the spermatic economy.[32] John Gideon Millingen, writing in 1848, said:

> Woman, with her exalted spiritualism, is [...] under the control of matter; her sensations are more vivid and acute, her sympathies more irresistible. She is less under the influence of the brain than the uterine system, the plexi of abdominal nerves, and irritation of the spinal cord; in her, a hysterical predisposition is incessantly predominating from the dawn of puberty. Therefore is she subject to all the aberrations of love and religion; ecstatic under the impression of both, the latter becomes a resource when the excitement of the former is exhausted by disappointment, infidelity and age – when, no longer attractive, she is left by the ebb of fond emotions on the bleak shore of despondency; where, like a lost wanderer in the desert, without an oasis upon earth on which to fix her straining eyes, she turns to heaven as her last consolation and retreat.[33]

While this painted a bleak picture of the life awaiting a woman courtesy of her biological status, it was also, perhaps unwittingly, a censure on the men with whom she would interact as she suffered from their infidelity when young and desertion once past her

[31] Ouida (Louise de la Ramée), *Under Two Flags* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1890), p. 590.
[32] For a fuller discussion and examples of articles pertaining to these ideas, see: Jenny Bourne Taylor and Sally Shuttleworth, eds., *Embodied Selves: An Anthology of Psychological Texts 1830-1890* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
[33] John Gideon Milligen, *The Passions; or Mind and Matter* (London: J. and D. Darling, 1848), p. 157, in Taylor and Shuttleworth, eds., *Embodied Selves: An Anthology of Psychological Texts 1830-1890,* p. 169.

prime; it actually clarified the need for a solution to these problems. Thomas Laycock, writing in 1860, painted a similar, but more supportive, picture:

> In woman, the breadth of the hips or pelvis, the glow of health on the cheeks and lips, the purity of the teeth, the luxuriant hair, the elastic step, the graceful easy carriage, indicate the mere corporeal qualities; the 'heaving bosom', the open brow, the sympathising smile, the gentle emotional voice, indicate her social and moral qualities. It is to her bosom woman clasps all that she loves, and it is by a sort of instinctive outness that she seeks solace and protection, when needed, on the firm and unyielding breast of her husband.[34]

Lexical choice which indicated the difference between the 'heaving bosom' of the woman and the 'firm and unyielding breast' of the man, accentuated the distinction between the gender roles Victorians saw as prescribed by biological determination. This determinant positioning also served to prevent women from developing economic independence; in a discussion regarding the 'most unnecessary and injurious degree of sex-indulgence under economic necessity' to which 'women are sacrificed' Perkins Gilman quotes from Grant Allen:

> I believe it to be true that she [woman] is very much less the race than man; that she is, indeed, not even half the race at present, but rather part of it told specially off for the continuance of the species.[35]

Women, Allen argues, were firmly defined by their ability to reproduce and not as thinking beings capable of action independent of this or of men. However, New Woman writers, in

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[34] Thomas Laycock, *Mind and Brain: or, The Correlations of Consciousness and Organisation: Systematically Investigated and Applied to Philosophy, Mental Science and Practice* (1860), 2nd edn. 2 vols. (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1869), vol. 2, p. 481, in Taylor and Shuttleworth, eds., *Embodied Selves: An Anthology of Psychological Texts 1830-1890*, p. 178.

[35] Perkins Gilman, *Women and Economics: A Study of the Economic Relation Between Men and Women*, p. 172. (The original quotation is from Grant Allen, 'Woman's Place in Nature' in *The Forum*, Vol. 7 (May, 1889), pp. 258-263.)

their subaltern counterpublics, came to realise this, and the ensuing need for change prompted them to promote ideas for counterdiscourses.

Men, on the other hand, were taught to celebrate puberty and, in William Acton's medical textbook of 1875, were advised that 'the healthy secretion of semen has a direct effect upon the whole physical and mental conformation of the man. A series of phenomena attend the natural action of the testicles which influence the whole system; gradually, in fact, forming the character itself.'[36] Pubescent boys were warned that 'a new *power* is present to be exercised, a new *want* to be satisfied.'[37] William Acton's italicisation of the words '*power*' and '*want*' allowed him to emphasise that these were normal biological reactions a man should expect and embrace. His article, however, warned men of the dangers of spermatorrhœa, a condition induced by loss of semen which would cause reduced vigour in a man; it warned young men of the dangers of spending their semen in masturbation and condemned this practice vociferously. The essence of the manly man was seen as self-control and a healthy retention of his virility. Many contemporary mid-Victorian medical articles stated that if men or women were to oppose their natural states the result would be mental imbalance leading to insanity. Viewing the strength of medical opinion surrounding biological determination in the decades preceding the *fin de siècle* in concatenation with the travesties of the Contagious Diseases Acts, it becomes easier to understand the fundamental obstacles women had to combat and change. Max Nordau saw the relationship between sexes as influenced by the degeneracy of man:

[36] William Acton, *The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs in Childhood, Youth, Adult Age, and Advanced Life Considered in their Physiological, Social and Moral Relations* (1857), 4th edn. (London: John Churchill, 1865) in Taylor and Shuttleworth, eds., *Embodied Selves: An Anthology of Psychological Texts 1830-1890*, p. 212.
[37] Acton in Taylor and Shuttleworth, eds., *Embodied Selves: An Anthology of Psychological Texts 1830-1890*, p. 212. [Italics are in the original text].

> The physiological relation of man to woman is that of desire for the time being toward her, and of indifference when the state of desire is not present.[38]

This gives a rather grim picture not only of imbalance, but of probable unhappiness and suffering inflicted on a wife as a result of the vagaries of the husband. Nordau's quotation, like others, demonstrates the interdependence of medical and social gender hierarchies and renders it almost impossible to define the individual body as a separate entity from the social body. The combination of mid nineteenth-century medical implications continued in Nordau's *fin-de-siècle* attitude, exemplify the reality of embedded male thinking that sharpened women's sense that the time had come for change.

As a result of the constrictions imposed by the perpetrators of these patriarchal ideas, when *fin-de-siècle* women sought changes in perceptions of themselves and their potential, it was due to a sense of injustice with their predetermined societal roles and a need to improve their position. Mona Caird stated that

> evidence is rapidly accumulating which makes it almost impossible to deny that the feminine constitution has been disastrously injured during the long ages of patriarchal rule, and that [the] beloved "sphere" of woman, where she was thought so safe and happy, has, in fact, been a very seed-bed of disease and misery and wrong, whose horrors will perhaps never be fully realised until the whole system has shared the fate of its fellows, and is looked back upon as we look back upon the practice of suttee or of slavery.[39]

Mona Caird was not alone in likening women's lot to slavery; Marie Corelli, along with a group of like-minded society ladies, portrayed *fin-de-siècle* marriage market as 'a trafficking in human bodies and souls, as open and shameless as any similar scene in

[38] Max Simon Nordau, *Degeneration* (seventh edition) (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1895), p. 168. (Reprinted by Forgotten Books, 2012).
[39] Caird, *The Morality of Marriage* (London: George Redway, 1897), p. 13. (All future references will be to this edition.)

Stamboul [slave market].[40] These descriptions highlight what many considered an increasingly untenable position and, building on the examples of their foremothers, such as Josephine Butler, in the approach to the new century, a number of women began to mobilise to form subaltern counterpublics when their safety, security, and resultant happiness seem to be imperilled. The legal improvements mentioned earlier highlighted the possibilities open to *fin-de-siècle* women, but did not make a broader cultural change accessible within a society which still saw a woman's *raison d'être* as marriage and motherhood. As more women agonised within the 'seed-bed of disease and misery and wrong', they saw traditional roles, and patriarchal abuse of women, as a hindrance to their future and rallied for change. It was, therefore, an involvement within a public sphere that women sought in order to be permitted a viable and visible futurity.

As their participation in the public sphere defined the apogee of manliness, men have, Kimmel argues, been constructed by collective signifiers to establish standards of behaviour which will 'grant [their] acceptance into the realm of manhood'.[41] *Fin-de-siècle* magazines such as *The Idler* or *The Strand Magazine* promoted manly signifiers which included: a desire for adventure; pastimes and sports such as fishing, cricket, shooting, boxing and rugby; a sense of fair play; a chivalrous approach to the ladies and scrupulous cleanliness of both mind and body.[42] At times of social crisis, these signifiers, perceived as having the potential to dangerously destabilise traditional male spheres, were emphasised more insistently and considered as 'those points of transition where old definitions no

[40] Marie Corelli, Lady Jeune, Flora Annie Steel, and Susan, Countess of Malmesbury, *The Modern Marriage Market* (London: Hutchinson, 1898), p. 38. (All future references will be to this edition.)
[41] Kimmel, *The Gender of Desire*, p. 33.
[42] Jerome K. Jerome, ed., *The Idler*, Vol. VI. (August, 1894 to January, 1895) (London: Chatto and Windus, 1895).
George Newnes, ed., *The Strand Magazine*, Vol. II. (July to December, 1891).

longer work[ed] and new definitions [were] yet to be firmly established'.[43] This historic context helps to elucidate the problems faced by modern countries, including India and other countries that still demand female subjugation. The problem stems from the challenge to masculine spheres and roles as women seek rights for education and to move from their traditional domestic functions in an attempt to enter the world of work and independence. Many males see this challenge as something they must react to, but their choice remains whether to continue 'grooming [...their] sense of entitlement', or to realise that change is imperative and seek for ways they can explore a corresponding state of flux to accommodate transformations that would be acceptable to both sexes. The same dilemma informed women's struggles in the *fin de siècle* as men held

> it a slight not to be borne that anyone should impugn [their] essential manhood [... and that women become] real "traitors to their sex" [...when they] put upon their shoulders, as a glory and privilege, the burden of their own support.[44]

This comparison of past and present arises from my argument that we cannot afford to have 'a traditional hermeneutical approach that attempts to exclude the observer's personal awareness from the understanding of relations in other times and places'.[45] While present and past situations are not directly transposable, it is to be hoped that writings exploring contentious gender relationships of the past may help provide a key to unlock those of the present and future. By investigating *fin-de-siècle* women's demands and then exploring how corresponding male authors negotiated the changes these wrought on masculinities, I hope to provide a picture of how men construct and transact collective signifiers to

[43] Kimmel, *The Gender of Desire*, p. 26.
[44] Grant Allen, 'Plain Words on the Woman Question', *Fortnightly Review*, 46:274 (October 1889), pp. 452-453.
[45] Richard Dellamora, *Masculine Desire: The Sexual Politics of Victorian Aestheticism* (London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), p. 218.

establish standards of behaviour which will 'grant [their] acceptance [and continuity in] the realm of manhood'.

This thesis aims to probe how Victorian masculinities responded to women's desire to change the *status quo* and to alter spheres which had allowed men to hold the balance of power both domestically and publicly. Rising challenges to traditional roles prompted much debate, both on the side of traditionalist, dominant discourse within the public sphere and of those of the reverse discourse, or subaltern counterpublics, seeking change. The selection of *fin-de-siècle* literature, by both male and female authors, explored in the thesis will, I feel, reflect these arguments with the aim of investigating why women so vociferously sought change and how masculinities under threat responded to this. Joseph Kestner, in a discussion of the influence of *Scouting for Boys*, points out that

> among the elements of this text [*Scouting for Boys*] most intriguing to cultural historians is its use of literature as a mode of imprinting behaviours, attitudes and concepts about masculinity on its readers, both young men and their older mentors.[46]

Kestner supports the idea of *fin-de-siècle* men using contemporary literature to inform how they viewed each other and how they received perceptions of manly attitudes and behaviour.[47] Within the era, a large selection of self-help books and magazines for both boys and men promoted these perceptions and this work will include a number of these. Ideas inherent in publications of this sort complement the study of the male-authored novels and short fiction chosen for this thesis while displaying an interaction with some of the ideals New Women writers demanded of men.

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[46] Joseph A. Kestner, *Sherlock's Men: Masculinity, Conan Doyle, and Cultural History* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), p. 1.

[47] There were many books, magazines and journals which proposed attitudes of masculinity to both men and young boys such as, *The Idler* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1892-1911); *The Strand Magazine* (London: George Newnes, 1891-1950); *Boy's Own Paper* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1879-1976); *Boys of England* (London: Edwin J. Brett, 1866-1899) and *Chums* (London: Cassell and Company, 1892-1941).

In order to analyse authorial interaction clearly, the thesis follows a tripartite structure that addresses different aspects of *fin-de-siècle* gender issues. It is organised into three sections - 'The Damaged Male', 'Marriage', and 'Society' - each containing three chapters; the first chapter of each section will examine a range of women's views and thus create a comparative platform for the male-authored texts. The second and third chapters of each section broach the masculine view by exploring issues through examination of Bram Stoker's novel, *Dracula* (1897), and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes tales (1887-1927) respectively.[48] This format allows the thesis to probe some of the main discursive arenas within which the Woman Question was debated.

Section 1, 'The Damaged Male' addresses issues around perceived failures in masculinity which led a number of authors to investigate various aspects pertaining to this in response to changes associated with the Woman Question. This section will probe physical and mental gendered attitudes and behaviours implicated, by both the dominant and reverse discourses, as unsuitable for a nation approaching a new century. Chapter 1, 'The Cry for Change', explores the struggle New Woman writers had to be taken seriously by society, many of whose members saw them as harbingers of doom to femininity and procreation. The main catalyst which spurred women to unite against injustice by men was the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864-69 and the campaign against them led by Josephine Butler.[49] This theme forms the core of Sarah Grand's novel, *The Heavenly Twins*, and it is

[48] Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, eds., Nina Auerbach and David J. Skal (New York: Norton, 1997).
Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes: The Complete Facsimile Edition* (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions, 1989). (All future reference to the Holmes canon will be to this edition.)

[49] Information regarding the acts and the movement against them can be found in: Josephine Butler, *Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade* (London: Horace Marshall, 1896) and Ellis Ethelmer, 'The Contagious Diseases Acts: A Warning', *Westminster Review*, Vol. 147 (May 1897), pp. 477-483.

this text which underpins chapter 1 in order to explore perceptions of damaged masculinities and the contagion they spread.[50]

The Acts, created in an attempt to control the spread of syphilis, mainly by soldiers returning from India, allowed the authorities to set up Lock Hospitals in garrison towns and ports, where officers could arrest any woman suspected of being a prostitute and detain her until she was cleared of the disease. This led to abuse of many women by male staff of the Lock Hospitals and also to many respectable women being treated in the same way as prostitutes. Opinions surrounding the Acts were diverse: part of a 'report of the Royal Commission of 1871 insisted there was "no comparison to be made between prostitutes and the men who consort with them. With one sex the offence is a matter of gain; with the other it is an irregular indulgence of a natural impulse."'[51] Ellis Ethelmer (Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy) conversely called it the 'subjugation of a slave class of women to the untempered sensuality of vicious men'.[52] The public was alerted to the degradations caused by abuse of powers granted under the Acts when, in 1875, a respectable woman, Mrs Percy, committed suicide as she was unable to live with the shame and humiliation of wrongful arrest and abuse resultant of these practices.[53] Resentment prompted outrage among women as blame for the spread of syphilis and other sexually transmitted diseases was placed solely on the female prostitutes while the authorities omitted to treat the clients. Campaigners were mobilised by their anger against

[50] Sarah Grand, *The Heavenly Twins* (New Jersey: Cassell Publishing Company, 1893). (All future references will be to this edition.)
[51] Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London: Virago, 1992), p. 23.
[52] Ellis Ethelmer (Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy), 'The Contagious Diseases Acts: A Warning', *The Westminster Review*, Vol. 147 (May, 1897), p. 483.
[53] This information is taken from: Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own* (London: Virago, 1977), p. 187.

the double standard whereby the men involved suffered no public consequences or shame for spreading disease, death and madness.

Chapters 2 and 3, 'Monstrous Masculinity' and 'Homosocial Symbiosis', explore discursive ideas of masculinity following the Acts and Butler's campaign; the rakish male, together with his lax attitudes towards women and sex, fuelled 'anxieties about 'moral contagion''.[54] This led to a pathological distrust of anyone who was not 'white, male, middle-class [and] English'.[55] It thus became important to reinforce modes of masculinity which would appear as the antithesis of the unhealthy, irrational libertine, a figure who, since Samuel Richardson's 1748 novel, *Clarissa*, had been defined by the machinations of Robert Lovelace.[56] Themes of disease and licentiousness which were prevalent in the *fin de siècle*, also served to bring to public attention men who did not conform to (healthy) sexual practices viewed as normal and manly, especially in the wake of the Labouchère Amendment.[57] Included as a rather strange afterthought to the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885, which sought to 'make further provision for the Protection of Women and Girls' by raising the age of consent from twelve to sixteen, Amendment 11 made it easier to prosecute men having homosexual liaisons. Added under 'Outrages on Decency', it stated that

> Any male person who, in public or private, commits, or is a party to the commission of, or procures or attempts to procure the commission by any male person of, any act of gross indecency with another male person, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and

[54] Sean Purchase, *Key Concepts in Victorian Literature* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 42
[55] Purchase, *Key Concepts in Victorian Literature*, p. 42.
[56] Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa*, Volumes 1-4 (London: Everyman, 1978). (Lovelace is the anti-hero of Richardson's epistolary novel which affords the reader an insight into the minds of both the chaste heroine and the dastardly rake whose *raison d'être* was his assault on Clarissa Harlowe's virtue by any means necessary. His use of intrigue and dishonesty combined with his obsession with possessing Clarissa, both mentally and physically, set the literary definition of the actions and intentions of the rake figure.)
[57] Information regarding this Act can be found in F. B. Smith, 'Labouchère's Amendment to the Criminal Law Amendment Bill', *Historical Studies* 17 (1976), pp. 165-75.

> being convicted thereof shall be liable at the discretion of the court to be imprisoned for any term not exceeding two years, [...]

Probably intended to stop the trade in the prostitution of young boys, Labouchère's amendment made it much easier to prosecute homosexuals as previously the law had required proof of penetration and now extended punishment to 'gross indecency'. It is, famously, the Act under which Oscar Wilde was convicted and jailed. Together with the influence of Nordau's book, *Degeneration,* Wilde's very public conviction caused anxiety which made some men rethink their behaviour to add the assertion of 'straight' masculinity to that of upright, traditional manliness.[58]

In Stoker's novel, *Dracula,* and Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories both authors constructed characters who reassured the *fin-de-siècle* reader that chivalrous manliness would prevail. Each created interaction with the ubiquitous bounder who forced the heroes to continuous vigilance against debauched purposes. In chapter 2, Jonathan Harker, isolated in Castle Dracula, has no one to reassure him when his masculinity is attacked by evil and the debauchery of the female vampires; it is not until he escapes and returns to England that he can reinforce his manliness with help from both wife and friends. The hyperbolic evil of Dracula served to magnify the dangers this level of moral dissoluteness would pose not only to society, but to manliness itself. Chapter 3 explores the symbiosis of Holmes and Watson as they support each other within a relationship that allowed purposeful performance of their masculinities as they negotiated adapting roles; damage, sloth and mental weakness had to be overcome within the self. In turn, these male-authored texts informed men's need for adventure and homosocial closeness as tools to explore possibilities surrounding the maintenance of normative masculinity. Eve

[58] Nordau's book is a lengthy condemnation of artists and art as inherently decadent and damaging to an upright society; his opinions state that decadent artistic communities – especially those which are male led – and their works will have a spreading, detrimental effect on society.

Kosofsky Sedgwick says that 'men's heterosexual relationships [...] have as their *raison d'être* an ultimate bonding between men; and that this bonding, if successfully achieved, is not detrimental to "masculinity" but definitive of it'.[59] Homosocial bonding was thus imperative to representations of manliness in the *fin de siècle*, allowing men to collectively seek, identify and repel aspects of 'damaged' behaviour. Being included within a bond that gave access to multiple viewpoints in a supportive, manly way permitted the participants to develop the confidence to deconstruct the causes of damaged and damaging behaviour and use the findings to support manly evolution; both Stoker and Conan Doyle showed a developed intuition that men were unable to do this alone and indicated, in the works I have chosen, the various strategies that men collectively used to support changes in their masculinities.

Victorian ideas regarding evolution contributed substantially to debate regarding the marriage market, which is addressed in Section 2. In the wake of Darwin, evolutionary science combined with social eugenicist ideas to drive concerns regarding the future of mankind. This section examines perceptions of harmful practices for both sexes inherent in the economics of choosing a life partner. The subject of marriage, more than any other, created a number of subaltern counterpublics which made room for heated debates regarding women's sphere and whether changes would be detrimental or beneficial. The section will examine how lack of education available to women forced them to almost sell themselves to the highest bidder in the search for a comfortable future and, as an extension of this, how men of limited means often used the marriage market to seek social or financial gain instead of searching for real love and companionship. Eugenicist thinkers of the time also compounded the problems as they sought ideal mothers to ensure a strong

[59] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), p. 50.

primogeniture, thus securing the continuance of robust, morally-upright, Englishmen. Perkins Gilman, expanding on the magnitude of female sacrifice, called the *fin-de-siècle* obsession with perfect motherhood 'matriolatry' and labelled it 'a sentiment so deep-seated, wide-spread and long-established as to be dominant in every class of minds.[60] However, while this appears to be an astute observation, the debate surrounding marriage was complicated as some feared that, if allowed a role in the public sphere, women would cease to become fit mothers and could possibly become caricature versions of manliness. The women authors selected in chapter 4, 'Vicarious Sacrifice', show a desire to negotiate many of the practices surrounding marriage while condemning a number of them outright. The chapter opens with a discussion of Eliza Lynn Linton's 'Wild Women' articles published in *The Nineteenth Century* and Mona Caird's reply, in the same publication, which gives an idea of the breadth of feeling that surrounded ideas of marriage and the Woman Question.[61] This is followed by a study of the relation between novels such as Caird's *Daughters of Danaus* (1894), Ella Hepworth Dixon's *The Story of a Modern Woman* (1894) and Marie Corelli's *The Sorrows of Satan* (1895), which explored the complex dichotomy of freedom and confinement within marriage.[62] Within the two following chapters, male and female relationships in Stoker and Conan Doyle's tales support the investigation of these themes from male-authored perspectives. From these, there emerges a consensus of opinion between many male and female authors that changes in marriage market practices needed to be implemented in order to form more balanced life partnerships based on deep love and respect. In order to successfully negotiate change,

[60] Perkins Gilman, *Women and Economics*, p. 147.
[61] Elizabeth Lynn Linton, 'The Wild Women', (I, II, & III), *The Nineteenth Century*, 30:173 (July 1891), pp. 79-88; 30:176 (October 1891), pp.596-605; 31:181 (March 1892), pp.455-464.
Mona Caird, 'A Defence of the So-called "Wild Women"', *The Nineteenth Century*, 31:183 (May 1892), pp. 811-829.
[62] Mona Caird, *The Daughters of Danaus* (1894) (New York: The Feminist Press, 1989). (All future reference will be to this edition.)
Ella Hepworth Dixon, *The Story of a Modern Woman* (1894) (AMA Publication, 2002). Ebook.
Marie Corelli, *The Sorrows of Satan* (MS. S.C.L.A., Stratford Upon Avon, August 15th, 1895). (For the ease of readers, all quotations within the thesis refer to a printed edition (London: Methuen, 1931).

authors considered various possible paradigms of behaviours which challenged the standards required not only by the New Woman, but also by men searching for a new aspirational manliness which demanded a more equal, supportive wife. While the genders were not in complete agreement of how to solve the issues pertaining to marriage market manipulations, there were convergence points which contested the idea of the female body as a consumptive commodity. The texts chosen in this section investigate the intertextual negotiations regarding an amenable path towards more equal partnerships.

The issues examined in sections 1 and 2 lead into section 3 which looks at ideas and problems regarding how society adapted to both the New Woman and the corresponding changes in masculinities. Women's desire to examine possibilities within a wider social sphere, and to seek degrees of autonomy outwith the home, provided quandaries for both male and female authors in the *fin de siècle*. These attempted moves brought to the fore the socially-created prejudices women were forced to struggle against in a bid for personal freedoms that would allow them to actualise their desires. Diana Postlethwaite's comment 'there is no joyous "Reader, I married him" for these heroines', is an apt summation of prevailing ideas in many *fin-de-siècle* novels.[63] Social strictures precluded success for some, while others used available support mechanisms, such as feminist literature or a network of like-minded, sympathetic men and women, to help them contend for autonomy. Similar struggles, with contrasting outcomes, are investigated in a discussion involving Kate Chopin's novel, *The Awakening* (1899), and Sarah Grand's two-part bildungsroman, *Adnam's Orchard* (1912) and *The Winged Victory* (1916).[64] Whilst

[63] Diana Postlethwaite, 'Victims of Victorianism', *The Women's Review of Books*, Vol.10, No. 10/11 (July 1993), p. 29.

[64] Kate Chopin, *The Awakening and Other Stories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). (All future reference will be to this edition.)
Sarah Grand, *Adnam's Orchard* (London: William Heinemann, 1912) and *The Winged Victory* (London: William Heinemann, 1916). (All future references will be to these editions.)

the novelists were writing in different countries, the obstacles women faced were very similar and including their works provides a more holistic view that gender issues were not simply confined to English women. Annetta Kelley says that 'the infamous "Yellow Book" was part of Chopin's regular reading' and, in fact, Chopin's own *Manuscript Account Book* shows that, in April 1895, she submitted a (now lost) short story called 'Lilacs' to *The Yellow Book* in the hope that they would include it.[65] This suggests that Chopin's ideas were in harmony with some of the contributors to *The Yellow Book* and that she wished to participate in the debate.[66] Sarah Grand's *The Heavenly Twins* had been published in America in 1893 indicating that here was an intercontinental sharing of ideas which led to an intertextual dynamic between New Women authors of these countries who sought to overcome social strictures and gain the right to self-determination.[67] In response to this, authors such as Conan Doyle and Stoker, both of whom travelled regularly to America, wrote characters who attempted to create a balance between physical and cerebral activity that allowed them to reassess their own masculinities. Their heroes attempted to do this while supporting others to negotiate traditional gender roles in relation to 'the structure of men's relationships with other men' and constrictions imposed upon these by society.[68] Attempts at reform in both *Dracula* and the Sherlock Holmes stories show that it was difficult for men to change patterns which had dominated their behaviour for centuries. However, in various Holmes stories, and in Stoker's novel, there are New Woman figures to whom the men respond in ways that suggest men could utilise emerging

[65] Quotation is from Annetta M. F. Kelley, 'The Sparkle of Diamonds: Kate Chopin's usage of Subtext in Stories and Novels', *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Summer 1994), p. 336.
Details of Chopin's *Manuscript Account Book* can be found in Kate Chopin, *Kate Chopin's Private Papers*, Emily Toth and Per Seyersted, eds. (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1998), p. 173.
[66] *The Yellow Book* was published in London between 1894 and 1897 by Elkin Matthews and John Lane and edited by an American, Henry Harland. The publication included a diversity of articles which encompassed ideas from traditionalist, feminists and even misogynists.
[67] Marilyn Bonnell, 'Sarah Grand and the Critical Establishment: Art for [Wo]man's Sake', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Spring 1995), p. 127. (Bonnell states that *The Heavenly Twins* was published in America by Cassell Publishers in 1893; it was produced there in one volume.)
[68] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, p. 2.

ideas as a catalyst for change. In this way, I argue, both authors encouraged the sexes to work together for improvements in socially-conditioned gender expectations that would allow them to move forward in support of each other. Male-authored texts thus helped to allay the worries of a society in flux and supported explorations of masculinities threatened by outdated conventions. The desire for social improvement was a goal shared by a number of male and female authors.

To provide a pattern of continuity within each of the sections, the first chapter of the three areas considers the woman's view of the topic: Nicola Thompson states that 'Victorian women novelists [had] inherently complicated and conflicting positions on the "woman question"' and these are considered in chapters 1, 4, and 7.[69] As not all *fin-de-siècle* women were committed fully - or at all - to the feminist cause, there were significant nuances within their writings which indicated various changes they sought to promote. Authors such as George Egerton and Kate Chopin advocated sexual freedom and horrified critics with their explicitness. While not willing to go quite as far, Mona Caird, Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Olive Schreiner believed in freedom of choice for women in all aspects of life that would enable them to live independent of men should they so choose, and on an equal footing if they chose to marry. Pertinent concerns that women might become 'masculinised' were mirrored in the writings of authors such as Sarah Grand, who believed in sexual purity; her main concerns were inequality within marriage along with the damage diseased men brought to sheltered and unsuspecting wives and families. Ouida, whose earlier writings belong more in the sensation genre, moved, in the *fin de siècle*, to compose tales which envisaged independence, choices and a sense of self for her heroines that moved from the traditional bounds of marriage. Marie Corelli, who strongly

[69] Nicola Diane Thompson, ed., 'Responding to the Woman Questions: Rereading Noncanonical Victorian Women Novelists' in *Victorian Women Writers and the Woman Question,* p. 1.

admired Ouida, spread her opinions on politics, publishing and the marriage market through her *fin-de-siècle* bestsellers; her ideas are interesting as she imparts them from the viewpoint of a single, financially-independent woman who supported both her father and brother with her earnings. Those less willing to accept change included Eliza Lynn Linton and Mrs Humphrey Ward both of whom wrote fiction alongside non-fiction articles deprecating the New Woman and the horrors she would inflict on the *status quo*. As this is only a small indicative selection, it can be seen that, among women themselves, there were complex and conflicting opinions on their perceived future which created a number of subaltern counterpublics seeking their own space within the public sphere. Setting out the women's discursive field is important for an appreciation of how far men were prepared to negotiate in order to provide encouragement and support for changes that were being sought.

Differences of opinion were also prevalent on the male side of the debate, but my choice of lead male authors, Bram Stoker and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, allows an examination of the possibilities of changes in gender positions and conventional strictures placed on both men and women. The second chapter in each section uses Stoker's *Dracula* to probe the dangerous repercussions which surrounded the diseased rake figure; Stoker also manoeuvred around the relationships of men and women in a climate of personal change and societal flux. *Dracula* is not a text that has been traditionally associated with promoting feminist ideas, but I hope to show that Stoker carefully considered the position and type of woman the future needed alongside how his male characters negotiated the corresponding challenges to their masculinities. There has been criticism of Stoker as having misogynistic tendencies: Showalter accuses him of writing a 'gang-rape', of making Mina 'a dangerous hybrid' and erroneously states that 'all Dracula's victims are

women', despite his treatment of poor Renfield and the fact that the Count manages to dispose of the complete, all male, crew of the *Demeter* – he is particular in only choosing women for transmogrification.[70] Stoker, however, did recognise the evolving gender climate and I will consider how he indicated this in the treatment of his characters. I will argue that Stoker used his anti-hero as the antithesis of desirable manhood which allowed a juxtaposition between the rakish Dracula, and the Crew of Light who mirror contemporary self-help literature to display healthy, manly attitudes.[71] The contrast between Dracula's solitude and the homosocial bond of his hunters is important both for the way Stoker illustrated the renegotiation of traditional roles and to indicate how difficult it was, and still is, for established gender traits to adapt to changing needs.

The third and final chapter of each section evaluates the Sherlock Holmes stories of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. These tales provide a wide-ranging view of many aspects of *fin-de-siècle* gender issues; the construction of the two protagonists indicates a morphogenesis of masculinities to meet the correspondingly evolving society. Forms of manliness at variance with those shown by the heroes are highlighted and dealt with and I will propose reasons why, in the era of Jack the Ripper, contemporary readers found reassurance in Holmes. Conan Doyle, who also wrote many adventure stories for boys, sought a path which maintained certain traditional aspects of manliness while considering how both men and women might successfully navigate some fluidity in their performed gender roles. Holmes and Watson, set within a recognisable social landscape, heartened their readership with a variety of scenarios which re-defined, challenged and re-established a number of social and gender boundaries. Dissemination of these ideas through his stories was

[70] Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy* (New York: Penguin, 1990), pp. 180 & 181.
[71] All uses in this work of the term 'Crew of Light' to describe Stoker's vampire hunters is attributed to Christopher Craft, '"Kiss Me With Those Red Lips": Gender and Inversion in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*', *Representations*, No. 8 (October 1984), p. 109

profoundly influenced by their appearance in the *Strand Magazine* and the popularity of this feature suggests society's acceptance of Conan Doyle's ideals.

Combining these diverse aspects of *fin-de-siècle* writing in the format of this thesis will I hope give a view of levels of resistance and acquiescence on both sides of the spectrum within a time where gender issues were as imperative to men as they were to women. Perceptions of masculinities were, and continue to be, of the utmost importance if men and women are to be able to surmount their traditional prejudices regarding socially-learned gender positions and commit to supporting and valuing people for the gifts they can bring to the development of humanity, regardless of their sex. Freedom to access the function in society that one aspires to should be a basic right, and neither a threat nor a privilege - it would appear, from modern ideas and world events, that this is still not the case. While studying *fin-de-siècle* literature highlights the differences between the two sexes, it also shows a significant degree of correlation within their ideals. It served to introduce the possibility that female independence, rather than being a destructive force, could benefit relationships and society in general. What man has to develop is self-belief in the performance of his masculinity. That many strong men can see 'independent, capable women' as a positive, supportive element in society has become more of a reality in the present day and is encouraging, but, from extreme examples such as those in mentioned at the beginning, it becomes apparent that much work has yet to be done to support and define masculinities perceived as under threat from gender negotiations.

Section 1

The Damaged Male

CHAPTER I

THE CRY FOR CHANGE

It is probably true to say that the largest scope for change still lies in men's attitude to women, and in women's attitudes to themselves.[1]

> '"Tracey Emin or Iceland? [...] Iceland here I come! The idea of living with her, or one of those so-called liberated women […] My God! Vivienne Westwood, Tracey, Janet Street-Porter, Germaine Greer. It would be like living in hell […] They so much want to be women. […] But I like women who are comfortable with being women." By which I think he means, those content to listen to him in awe, without too many questions of their own.'[2]

Difficult as it is to believe, these words were spoken in 2009, but resonate perfectly with ideas of *fin-de-siècle* dominant discourse. Janice Turner, the interviewer above, does find David Bailey's 'fossilised sexual politics' laughable, but it highlights the struggle feminists still have to be taken seriously as equals by some male contemporaries, even now.[3] How much more difficult must it have been then for their foremothers to be held in regard over a century earlier? Bailey's idea that 'so-called liberated women' are not 'comfortable with being women' is a notion so outdated that it may shock a modern reader. This level of vilification, however, was a common occurrence for *fin-de-siècle* New Women advocates, and the idea

[1] Vera Brittain, *Lady into Woman: From Victoria to Elizabeth II* (London: Macmillan, 1953), ch15.
[2] Janice Turner, 'Portraits of the Artists', *The Times Magazine* (31st October 2009), p. 38.
[3] Turner, 'Portraits of the Artists', p. 38.

that a female who showed a desire to break out of the traditional mould must be less than feminine or verging on the manly was rife.

Many of the *fin-de-siècle* worries regarding femininity arose following the campaign against the Contagious Diseases Acts alongside the campaign to raise the age of consent. A number of women authors, with Sarah Grand as one of the most prominent, began to argue that a significant number of men were infected with, and ready to infect their wives with, syphilis and other sexually transmitted diseases. Grand was one of many who saw the remedy for this as better and more accessible education for women alongside a change in the social license which permitted men to become damaged through infection while they participated freely in sexual matters. Bailey's words above are anticipated in the *fin de siècle* by Lord Groome, a character in Sarah Grand's *The Heavenly Twins*, as he voices 'his disapproval of those "absurd new-fangled notions of hers" which were "an effectual bar [...] the kind of thing that destroys a woman's charm, and makes it impossible to get on with her' (*HT*, p. 229).[4] Even authors who gave some support to the New Woman agenda, such as Grant Allen, saw motherhood as the prime function of women and thought that they were 'pursuing a chimæra, and neglecting to perceive the true aim of their sex'.[5] Boundaries placed upon women were and continue, for many, to be framed by notions that in order to be feminine a woman must be soft and motherly. If a woman chose to break from this mould and attempt to change hegemonic masculinity, she was widely considered to be almost an aberration.

[4] Grand, *The Heavenly Twins*.
[5] Grant Allen, 'Plain Words on the Woman Question', p. 451.

Adding to the turmoil and vilification challenging the New Woman struggle in the *fin de siècle*, were not only men, but also a number of women writers who saw *avant garde* members of their sex as gender abominations. Mrs Eliza Lynn Linton described them as 'men-women' and asked,

> how can we call them women when they have rejected as the sign of their shame every mental and moral attitude by which women have hitherto been known [...] and loved but how are they men when they have nothing of the bodily strength, the mental power, the logical facility by which these govern and make themselves respected?[6]

Hugh Stutfield termed New Woman writers who formed subaltern counterpublics with the possibility of threatening the position of men as authors of social change, 'literary pygmies'; a comment not only on their intellectual ability, but also on their relation to under-evolved primitive beings.[7] Insecurities regarding women who fought for various levels of independence were addressed by both genders across a wide-ranging forum as Victorian England approached the end of the nineteenth century. Even Stutfield had to admit, however, that women had cause to complain as he commented, rather sarcastically, on the plethora of New Woman books and articles:

> Their dominant note is restlessness and discontent with the existing order of things; and that there is some reason in it few will be found to deny. Man has no idea what it feels like to be a woman, but it will not be her fault if he does not soon begin in some degree to understand.[8]

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[6] Mrs E. Lynn Linton, 'Woman's Place in Nature and Society', *Belgravia: a London Magazine*, 29:115 (May 1876), pp. 349-350.
[7] Hugh E.M. Stutfield, 'The Psychology of Feminism', *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine*, 161:175 (January 1897), p. 116.
[8] Stutfield, 'The Psychology of Feminism', p. 105.

While this is a criticism of the breadth and depth of women's writing, it does highlight the anomaly that if women remained within the private sphere, men would never be aware of their discontent. It was, therefore, only by forming subaltern counterpublics and moving into a public sphere that they could begin to explore alternatives to the *status quo*.

The journey by women to make men understand 'what it [felt] like to be a woman' was motivated by a number of social changes earlier in the nineteenth century which forced adjustments to the spheres of both genders. Traditional masculine roles had been brought into question with the expansion in international trading resulting from growing colonialism. This, in turn, led to a rising merchant class who aspired to be gentlemen. Robin Gilmour comments that:

> [...] in a rapidly changing society more and more people were becoming wealthy enough to sense the attainability of a rank that had always, in theory, been open to penetration from below.[9]

Merchants, although aspiring to the rank of gentlemen, were compelled to continue in business: a divergence from the traditional ethics of the gentleman of leisure. Prior to this, social esteem was gained from a life of personal gratification:

> It was considered essential that a gentleman should be able [...] to live without manual labour, but also without too visible attention to business, for it was leisure which enabled a man to cultivate the style and pursuits of gentlemanly life.[10]

[9] Robin Gilmour, *The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1981), p. 3.
[10] Gilmour, *The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel*, p. 7.

To this end, successful merchants and returning army officers bought gentlemanly homes, in town and in the country, to enable them to keep a discreet eye on business while following leisurely pursuits. This added a new voice to the public sphere and challenged traditional political roots with changing interests relating to commercial pursuits. This rising social class further disturbed the status quo by aspiring to educate their daughters with a view to expanding their future prospects. Mrs Lynn Linton, among others, took exception to this and questioned

> the wisdom of a father of limited means and uncapitalised income to send to college, at great expense, girls who may marry, and so render the whole outlay of no avail [....This is evinced by] the effect which this Higher Education has on the woman and the individual; [...and] the physical results on health and strength, especially in relation to her probable maternity.[11]

Victorian ideals were against a woman's right to do anything that would preclude her perceived *raison d'être* of motherhood. However, many women who accessed improving levels of education began, in turn, to question the ability of men to determine society's rules or to demand that women be the guardians of sexual morals for society as a whole. Sarah Grand pointed out that

> Woman is always being exhibited as maid, wife, widow, and mother-in-law; but man for the most part is taken for granted.[12]

Women were, therefore, at every point in their lives, always under scrutiny in relation to a pre-determined, socially-engineered role. Conversely, men could, if they chose, behave or

[11] Linton, 'The Higher Education of Woman', *Fortnightly Review*, 40:238 (October 1886), p. 499.
[12] Sarah Grand, 'The Man of the Moment' in Carolyn Christensen Nelson, ed., *A New Woman Reader: Fiction, Articles and Drama of the 1890s* (Canada: Broadview Press, 2001), p. 147.

misbehave, as they pleased with little uncomfortable interruption to their public or private roles.

Behaviour commensurate with this delineation of roles manifested itself publicly during the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866 and 1896. The injustice of these Acts, discussed more fully in the Introduction, sparked a radical campaign for their repeal, forced a rethink in the way both sexes tolerated this government-instigated gender imbalance and brought about a recognition that these Acts allowed

> forcible supervision and treatment, or punishment imposed upon an unhappy section of the female sex alone, the male agents or culprits being left free to spread their own contamination unrestrictedly.[13]

What drove the campaigners was the degradation, completely at odds with outwardly morally, upright Victorian Society, women experienced during the examination. This was described in *The Lancet*:

> It is natural enough [...] that one of the great objections of these women to seeking admission into hospitals is the dread of that clinical mode of teaching which includes the throwing back of all coverings from the poor creature shrinking in her shame and calmly demonstrating the characters of her malady to a promiscuous class of students.[14]

This idea of multiple males viewing intimate areas underlines the indignities suffered by certain women at the hands and eyes of men protected by the law. That prostitutes were

[13] Ethelmer, 'The Contagious Diseases Acts: A Warning', p. 477.
[14] Judith R Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 61.

horrified that they were permitted no shred of modesty and bemoaned their treatment at the hands of a patriarchal society gives an insight into the horrors this must have presented to any respectable woman mistakenly arrested. Repealists, anxious to illustrate the effects that the acts could have on 'virtuous wives and daughters [...] falsely accused', gave anecdotal evidence at public meetings.[15] This was clearly designed to shock:

> It is awful work; the attitude they push us into first is so disgusting and so painful, and then these monstrous instruments – often they use several. They seem to tear the passage open first with their hands, and examine us, and then they thrust in instruments, and they pull them out and push them in, and they turn and twist them about; and if you cry out they stifle you.[16]

Brutal and misogynistic practices epitomised in the 'unnatural and degrading experience of "instrumental" rape' as described here, were perpetrated by men in trusted positions of power.[17] This 'unnatural, voyeuristic intrusion into the womb that degraded any female' drew women from differing strata of society together in a common cause.[18] The open and well-publicised persecution of women, and the obvious neglect of men's role in the spread of disease, accentuated gender imbalance in a way that it is unlikely any other cause could have. Fear regarding the impotence of women to resist the degradations forced upon them, led to collaboration between poor women who were willing to speak of the outrages and wealthier middle-class women who had the money and position to expose this one-sided persecution in a public arena. Of the eight points enumerated in the 'Women's Protest', the most important

[15] Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p. 109.
[16] Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p. 109.
[17] Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p. 202.
[18] Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p. 130.

objection was the seventh which denied that 'sexual diseases could be controlled while only one sex was subject to examination'.[19] This imbalance led to a call for the preservation of basic moral principles linked with mutual respect and the need for both genders to adhere to these became paramount to those demanding the repeal of the Acts. Respectable women became concerned with the treatment of their less-fortunate sisters; Walkowitz quotes from a prostitute who was asked the difference between exposing themselves for work and for examination in a lock hospital:

> Ain't one in the way of natur', and the other ain't natur' at all. Ain't it a different thing what a woman's obliged to do for a living because she has to keep body and soul together, and going up there to be pulled about by a man as if you was cattle and hadn't no feeling, and to have an instrument [the speculum] pushed up you, not to make you well (because you ain't ill) but just that men may come to you and use you to theresils [sic].[20]

While this again highlights the horrors of speculum rape, it also suggests that, amid the abuse, no one explained the dangers of syphilis to the prostitutes themselves; 'you ain't ill' indicates the lack of understanding of the dangers they were exposing themselves to. While the examination was designed to discover the illness, it perpetrated an assumption of power over lesser women by patriarchal approaches to the proposed solution. It would appear, from the anecdotal evidence, that the prostitutes themselves, while not ignorant of sexual disease, had little idea of the long-term danger they were exposing themselves to. Josephine Butler, the leader of the Ladies' National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, reported the lamentations of a woman she was trying to help:

[19] Phillip Mallett, 'Women and Marriage in Victorian Society', P. 178.
[20] Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society,* p. 202.

> It is men, only men, from the first to the last, that we have to do with! To please a man I did wrong at first, then I was flung about from man to man. Men police lay hands on us. By men we are examined, handled, doctored, and messed on with. In the hospital it is a man again who makes prayers and reads the bible for us. We are up before magistrates who are men, and we never get out of the hands of men.[21]

Objectified and commodified by almost all the men they encountered, graphic descriptions by prostitutes, such as those above, fuelled the sense of injustice surrounding the Acts. Although the Contagious Diseases Acts pertained to the cleansing of prostitutes, they also highlighted double standards underlying Victorian society in which men made the decision to 'punish the sex who are the victims of vice and leave unpunished the sex who are the main causes both of the vice and its dreaded consequences'.[22] Walkowitz comments that the Royal Commission of 1871 so distorted the gender balance that they 'transform[ed] a time-honoured male privilege into a physiological imperative' and quotes from the commission's report:

> we may at once dispose of any recommendation founded on the principle of putting both parties to the sin of fornication on the same footing by the obvious but not less conclusive reply that there is no comparison to be made between prostitutes and the men who consort with them. With the one sex the offence is committed as a matter of gain; with the other it is an irregular indulgence of a natural impulse.'[23]

Again, attempts to delineate gender in terms of perceived biological imperatives perpetrated by those in authority, foreground misogynistic privilege. The well-publicised campaign against the Contagious Diseases Acts, in particular the work of Josephine Butler and her

[21] Josephine E. Butler, 'The "Reclaiming and Evaluating" Influences of the Acts', *The Shield: The Anti-Contagious Diseases Acts Association's Weekly Circular*, Volume 10 (9th May 1870), p. 79.
[22] Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p. 93.
[23] Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p. 71.

organisation, brought misogyny behind the Acts into a wide public forum. Both genders became aware of the underlying libertine views towards male sexual license and 'stressed the dangerous medical and social consequences of male promiscuity'.[24] This spurred educated women to demand a change in conventions for themselves and society; to readdress gender balance in all aspects of virtue, honesty and decency, and to expect higher moral standards from men.

Sarah Grand, a social purist who campaigned for higher moral standards – particularly in men – addressed the imbalance in her writings; she felt that women were 'bound to defend our own sex, especially when we find them suffering injustice, injury, poverty, and disgrace, until men are manly and chivalrous enough to relieve us of the horrid necessity'.[25] Her novel, *The Heavenly Twins*, foregrounds concerns resulting from the sexual license it afforded returning soldiers in relation to syphilis and its effects on innocent victims. New Woman heroine, Evadne Frayling, 'a nineteenth-century woman of the higher order with senses so refined that if her moral as well as her physical being were not satisfied in love, both would revolt', refuses to live with the husband she had imagined herself to be in love with (*HT*, p. 345). Her infatuation with the handsome, dashing Major Colquhoun dissipates, to be replaced by disgust when she receives a letter informing her of his previous libertine peccadilloes. To Evadne's parents

> George [Colquhoun] is a senior major, and will command the regiment in a very short time, and his means are quite ample enough for them to begin upon. [...] He is a thoroughly good Churchman, which is a blessing – never misses a service [...] He was rather wild as a young

[24] Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p. 71.
[25] Grand, 'The Man of the Moment', p. 147.

> man [...] but he has been quite frank about that to Mr Frayling, and there is nothing now that we can object to. In fact, we think he is exactly suited to Evadne, and we are thoroughly satisfied in every way.
>
> *HT*, p. 55.

Even when Evadne directly asks her father if there is anything in her husband's past 'to which [she] should object', he assures her 'Oh, nothing, nothing [...] he has been perfectly straight forward about himself, and I am satisfied that he will make you an excellent husband' (*HT*, p. 56). This protectionist closing of male ranks to withhold aspects of their behaviour not deemed as either suitable or necessary for a woman to know is further explained by Jill Harsin's view that the wife 'thus became a sacrifice to respectability, to the legal and economic power of the male, to her own lack of sound information. She was protected from the knowledge of syphilis – but not from its consequences'.[26] Grand clearly addresses the problem of 'syphilitic men [...] about to marry [who are in] favour of the man's rights to control the knowledge that the woman in the case would receive'.[27] Harsin's ideas further emphasise Grand's *fin-de-siècle* opinion that 'all moral progress has been checked for ages by the criminal repression of women' (*HT*, p. 193). In her 2004 article on *The Heavenly Twins*, Meegan Kennedy argues that:

> women's suffering, Grand claims, results not only from men's promiscuity but also from the restrictions that prevent women from learning about that promiscuity and its consequences. In short, the lusts of a patriarchal society put women at risk; and its traditions keep them there.[28]

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[26] Jill Harsin, 'Syphilis, Wives and Physicians: Medical Ethics and the Family in Late Nineteenth-Century France', *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 16, No.1 (Spring, 1989), p. 95.
[27] Harsin, 'Syphilis, Wives and Physicians: Medical Ethics and the Family in Late Nineteenth-Century France', p. 78.
[28] Meegan Kennedy, 'Syphilis and the Hysterical Female: the limits of realism in Sarah Grand's *The Heavenly Twins*', *Women's Writing*, Volume 11, Number 2, (2004), p. 261.

Traditions surrounding male bachelor habits as both a biological rite-of-passage and an unsuitable subject for women perpetuated the silence surrounding issues of sexual disease. Even after the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, societies such as the National Vigilance Association and the Women Guardians Society, hounded prostitutes in their attempts to close brothels forcing the women onto the street and placing them in the hands of dangerous 'bullies', the Victorian equivalent of the modern-day pimp.[29] However, 'upper-class brothels – 'fashionable houses' remained virtually untouched' as did 'West End Theatres of Variety' which were frequented by prostitutes parading themselves as commodities for the gentry who attended these entertainments.[30] The aim of these societies had been 'to transform the streets and sites of public entertainment into places where women could move freely without fear of attack or the accusation of non-respectability'.[31] That this task failed was illustrated when Olive Schreiner was 'suspected by a policeman of being a prostitute' as she walked home with her friend Dr Donkin - due to the fact that she was not wearing gloves or a hat.[32] These were enough for the police to accost her with accusations and underline the narrow confinements to which women were meant to acquiesce.

For the many *fin-de-siècle* women, careful patriarchal control of their environment and their learning ensured they were kept ignorant of the ways of the world, creating an anomalous space between what women did know and what they needed to know. Ella

[29] Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Feminism, Sex and Morality* (London: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2002), p. 107.
[30] Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Feminism, Sex and Morality*, p. 106.
[31] Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Feminism, Sex and Morality*, p. 118.
[32] Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Feminism, Sex and Morality*, p. 119.

Hepworth Dixon explains this through the gradual realisation of the heroine of *The Story of a Modern Woman*:

> it was not, of course, till years afterwards, that Mary became conscious of the fine irony of the fact that man, the superior intelligence, should take his future companion, shut her within four walls, fill that dimly lighted space with images of facts and emotions which do not exist, and then, pushing her suddenly into the blinding glare of real life, should be amazed when he finds that his exquisite care of her ethical sense has stultified her brain.[33]

Protectionism in place of a suitable education with which to approach the coming new century was, the New Woman argued, producing 'stultified' women unfit to face the challenges ahead. Christabel Pankhurst adds to this debate by pointing out that:

> the men who would think it indelicate to utter in their [wives'] hearing the words syphilis and gonorrhoea, seem not to think it indelicate to infect them with the terrible diseases that bear these names.[34]

These ideas placed the blame equally between the supposedly-protectionist father who committed his daughter to an infected man and the syphilitic man himself; the silence of this masculine bond equated with a death sentence on the girl they professed to care for.

Evadne, however, escapes both these fates as she has spent her formative years educating herself by wide-ranging reading. After overhearing her father praise them, she reads both '*Roderick Random* and *Tom Jones*', discovering for herself that a man can have 'a career of vice, in which he revels without any sense of personal degradation' and that 'such men

[33] Ella Hepworth Dixon, *The Story of a Modern Woman*, pp. 28-29.
[34] Christabel Pankhurst, *The Great Scourge and How to End It* (London: David Nutt, 1913), p. vi, as quoted in Kennedy, 'Syphilis and the Hysterical Female: the Limits of Realism in Sarah Grand's *The Heavenly Twins*', p. 261.

marrying are a danger to the community at large. The two books taken together show well the self-interest and injustice of men, the fatal ignorance and slavish apathy of women; and [that] it may be good to know these things' (*HT*, pp. 19 & 20). As she progresses with her education through selective personal reading, Evadne follows these novels with books on 'anatomy and physiology' which allow her to connect vice and ignorance with their consequences (*HT*, p 21). Because Mr Frayling, as a bullying patriarch, is under the impression that all women are stupid, Evadne is left to read at will and to form her own connections between vice and disease. Mrs Frayling, an uneducated mother who is content under her husband's repressive regime, will look at nothing she considers unladylike and, even though her daughter shows her unpleasant pictures, she chooses to ignore them, preferring sensibilities over sensible parenting. Since the reader has already been informed by Evadne that 'if I am ever sure of a thing being right which somebody else thinks is wrong, it won't matter what it is or who it is, I shall not give in', it comes as no surprise when, on confirming the truth of her husband's prior conduct, she refuses to associate herself with the marriage and considers him a 'moral leper' (*HT*, pp. 16 & 79). When Mrs Orton Beg attempts to persuade Evadne that she 'should think only of the future [...] forgive the past' Evadne is horrified:

> This is the mistake you good women all make [...] You set a detestably bad example. So long as women like you will forgive anything, men will do anything. You have it in your power to set up a high standard of excellence for men to reach in order to have the privilege of associating with you. There is a quality in men, that they will have the best of everything; and if the best wives are only to be obtained by being worthy of them, they will strive to become so. As it is, however, why should they? Instead of punishing them for their depravity, you encourage them in it by overlooking it; and besides, [...] you must know that there is no past in the matter of vice. The consequences become hereditary, and continue from generation to generation.
>
> *HT*, pp. 79-80.

Evadne has evaluated the weaknesses of both sexes to show complicit culpability. This emphasises the danger to future generations unless women take a stand to force a reform of male behaviour. Harsin's article on syphilis points out that the late nineteenth century

> was a time of increasing concern about sexually transmitted diseases, as well as a recognition of their diffusion into all levels of society [and] brought a new understanding of the extent to which syphilis could reach down into the next generation, destroying foetuses in the womb or condemning stricken families to sickly tainted progeny.[35]

The idea of weak heredity helped inform the rising popularity of social eugenics in order to engineer strong, aristocratic offspring and also informed discourse surrounding licentiousness and its consequences. Mona Caird believed that a multi-faceted approach was needed in order to address male sexual mores:

> no crime, however base, no cruelty, however fiendish, is shrunk from when religious enthusiasm dictates, when social law commands, or when the impulses of hereditary savagery have received no check from either of these powers, or from the higher development of the character in other directions.[36]

Caird's derision of traditional male behaviour which harms women in any way is in harmony with Grand's opinion, given both in *The Heavenly Twins* and in a separate article, that 'the world is not a bit better for centuries of self-sacrifice on the woman's part and therefore [...] it is time we tried a more effectual plan.[37] New Woman authors began, through their writing, to create subaltern counterpublics within which they could explore the possibilities of change

[35] Harsen, 'Syphilis, Wives and Physicians: Medical Ethics and the Family in Late Nineteenth-Century France', p. 72.
[36] Caird, 'Phases of Human Development', *Westminster Review*, 141 (January 1894), p. 37.
[37] *HT*, p. 80 and Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own*, p. 181.

and exchange. Evadne finally comes to a more effectual plan with her husband when they agree to live together for social convenience only. In 1875, William Acton had given a real example of Grand's fictional scenario involving a

> lady who maintain[ed] women's rights to such an extent that she denied her husband any voice in the matter, whether or not cohabitation should take place. She maintained most strenuously that as a woman bears all the consequences [...] a married woman has a perfect right to refuse to cohabit with her husband. [38]

Acton was incensed 'that this "strong-minded female"' would lend no ear to his argument that such 'conduct on her part might be [...] highly detrimental to the health of her husband.'[39] In the intervening twenty years, creation of New Woman discursive spaces gave enough strength to female voices to suggest that women withhold conjugal rights rather than 'bear the consequences' of contracting syphilis from a diseased husband. However, not all women had the financial security, strength or desire to resist the traditional pressures surrounding marriage and, although Evadne has both the knowledge and courage to protect herself, her friend, Edith, is not so fortunate.

Edith Beale is utilised by Grand to expose the harm that could ensue when women chose to remain ignorant and submit to bigoted patriarchy. Edith is described as a 'white child', a 'pearl' and 'a lovely specimen of a well-bred English girl'; ironically, patriarchal protectionism turns her into the complete antithesis of this (*HT*, p. 155). Until her marriage, Edith has lived her life in the company of women who had

[38] Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p. 88.
[39] Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society,* p. 88.

> prided themselves on only believing all that is good of their fellow creatures [...] thus they always believed the best about everybody, not on evidence, but upon principle; and then they acted as if their attitude had made their acquaintances all they desired them to be. They seemed to think that by ignoring the existence of sin, by refusing to obtain any knowledge of it, they somehow helped to check it; and they could not have conceived that their attitude made it safe to sin, so that, when they refused to know and to resist, they were actually countenancing evil and encouraging it.
>
> *HT*, pp. 155-156.

Many New Women writers endeavoured, by providing literary examples of a *laissez-faire* attitude within society, to foreground the evils committed on women who were both innocent and unprepared. Grand's spotless Edith is the perfect pawn for society's evils to be perpetrated upon. The iniquity depicted here was in the danger inherent in keeping women uneducated regarding the realities of life, thus sacrificing them to a patriarchal society which was guilty of the cover-up of the disease and degradation within its ranks. Walkowitz provides a shocking example which, although it relates to gonorrhoea, shows the complicity of *fin-de-siècle* male doctors to conceal venereal disease symptoms from innocent brides. The case involved Diday, a French venereologist respected in England, and a young man who had contracted gonorrhoea, but had no time for a curative course before his wedding day:

> in these embarrassing circumstances one sovereign remedy remains, only one – injections of nitrate of silver [...] Suppose one employs a medium dose of the solution, in an hour and a half or two hours after the infection there appears a discharge, the simple effect of traumatism, accompanied by a little smarting in micturition. This slight inflammation lasts five or six hours. But then, precious result, the canal becomes dry; the morbid secretion is arrested, and this condition persists for eighteen or twenty-four hours – quite sufficient time for the bridegroom to seek his nuptial couch.[40]

[40] Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, pp. 55-56.

Deep-seated male conspiracy sat behind practices such as this which ignored lax morals and held a husband's ability to perform his manly duty above concerns regarding the health of his wife and future offspring. Kennedy says that

> syphilis bridges the Victorians' perceptual divide between the masculine world of intercourse and the Angel of the House, marking mother and whore alike with the trace of their common lover's contaminated touch.[41]

Mrs Laura Chant, a prominent Victorian social purist, highlighted this seeming double standard which many women considered to be the heart of the problem:

> some good people seem to be so zealous in defending the vicious from injustice that it seems as if they were in danger of forgetting that vice is in itself a colossal injustice, an infringement of the liberty of the subject.[42]

This issue had become a firm part of the New Woman agenda; trusting women's stubborn and ill-advised refusal to contemplate reality led to collusion with men to perpetuate these deluded and damaging practices. The reader is warned of the consequences of these vices and their effects on unprepared women by Grand when Edith's horror of disease, and her ensuing madness, is foreshadowed by the prophetic dream in which she sees a Christ-like child carried by Lord Dawne. When she takes it, sees it 'deformed, and its poor little body covered with sores' her response portends her future state:

> the sight sickened her, and she tried to cover it with her own clothes. She tore at the skirt of her gown. She struggled to take off the cloak

[41] Kennedy, 'Syphilis and the Hysterical Female: the limits of realism in Sarah Grand's *The Heavenly Twins*', p. 262.
[42] Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Feminism, Sex and Morality*, pp. 120-121.

> that she wore. She stripped herself in the endeavour and cried aloud in her shame, but she could not help herself.
>
> *HT*, p. 156.

The unacceptability of the natural horrors perpetrated by societal silence provided a dire warning of the effect of sexual adventuring on the future eugenics of the race both physically and mentally. Later, Edith, as foreshadowed, is driven to madness by the syphilis she contracts from her husband, Menteith, and by the deteriorating condition of her disease-deformed son. The son thus becomes a metaphor for England should men's diseased decadence be allowed to continue unchallenged.

Grand exposes the behaviour of sexually-decadent, diseased men in her portrayal of Sir Mosley Menteith, the pox-ridden lothario who becomes Edith's spouse. He is shown as a perfect husband on a number of levels: he is a successful soldier; he has a title and lands; and he is 'an old acquaintance' of the family. On his first appearance warning bells are rung by Grand; he 'scrutinize[d]' Edith 'in a way that brought the blood to her cheeks, and caused her to drop her eyes'. This immodest way of looking at his intended is augmented by the information that 'some effect of personality continually suggested the presence in him of thoughts and feelings disguised or concealed by an affectation of impassivity, nothing he did or said at an ordinary interview ever either quite confirmed or destroyed the impression' (*HT*, p. 161). The inference is that men's concealment of their true nature in response to societal expectations made them insidiously dangerous. It becomes clear that superficiality overrode reality, not only in Menteith's case, but also in those of his brother officers and Major Colquhoun:

> they were all excessively neat and clean in appearance, their manners in society were unexceptionable, the morals of them were not worth describing because there was so little of them.
>
> *HT*, p. 162.

The acceptability of philandering army officers would appear to have been overlooked as long as they presented themselves as respectable, civilized gentlemen in polite society. This is supported by Walkowitz's view that 'the exceptional conditions of military life, requiring the effective "celibacy" of enlisted men, justified state protection of sexual promiscuity'.[43] While Walkowitz specifically mentions the 'enlisted' men on whom the Contagious Diseases Acts focused, the same moral code could have been extended to unmarried officers all of whom had the propensity to contract and proliferate sexually transmitted diseases within society.

Returning soldiers and sailors brought disease to the garrison towns of England and to both prostitutes and respectable wives. Having done this, Menteith displays his addiction to casual sexual encounters - even under the direct gaze of his wife and while in the throes of syphilitic illness. While Edith and he are in their room in 'a bracing sea-side place', he openly flirts with a young woman, 'with senses rampant and mind undisciplined', parading herself below his window. Grand points out that 'he had only one interest in life, and [...] the girl on the beach had done all she could to excite it' (*HT*, pp. 277 & 279). This may be Grand's sexual purist comment on the result of closing brothels as it forced the prostitutes onto the streets disturbing public respectability, but the incident also allows her to highlight Menteith's callous double standards. When seeing his wife and child off on the train, he assuages Edith's depression by setting 'her a good example by keeping his own [spirits] up manfully [...] and

[43] Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p. 72.

stood smiling and bowing, with his hat in his hand, until she was out of sight; and then he turned on his heel and went with a jaunty air to look for the girl on the beach' (*HT*, pp. 282-283). Grand reinforces that, in keeping with his brother officers, his 'manners in society were unexceptionable, [but] the morals of them were not worth describing because there was so little of them'. In this way, Grand reiterates the gender imbalance between husbands and wives infected with syphilis, where, almost in keeping with lock hospital policies, the woman was confined in an attempt at a cure while the man was at liberty to continually reoffend with no conscientious recall.

However, Menteith, despite his own lack of scruples, is seen as debauched even by army standards. Evadne tries to warn Edith, telling her 'that if Colonel Colquhoun hints that there is something objectionable about a man it must be something very objectionable indeed' (*HT*, pp. 232-233). Under no illusion regarding her own husband's past, Evadne knows that, as a Colonel, Colquhoun would be aware of the behaviour of his troops in the field – especially in the case of a brother officer. The Colquhoun Highlanders have served in India before returning to Britain and it was here that syphilis was most prevalent amongst the troops – particularly those who, unlike the officers, were not allowed to bring their wives:

> In a letter to the *Times* of March 25, 1897, Major C.B. Mayne, R.E., [...] point[ed] out that "During the twenty-three years that the [Contagious Diseases] Acts were in existence in India the ratio of admissions into hospitals per 1000 men for venereal disease rose from 204 in 1886 to 504 in 1890, and the [...] increase up to 537 in 1895 is only the natural continued effect of what had been going on for so long before."[44]

[44] Ethelmer, 'The Contagious Diseases Acts: a Warning', Footnote on p. 481.

Although this figure arguably included readmission of a number of the men, the statistics rose substantially within a nine-year period and showed no signs of abating. Ellis Ethelmer further pointed out that, according to these patterns, 'there [was] twelve times as much debauchery and disease among the British soldiers as there [was] among their deeper-coloured brethren'.[45] It could thus be suggested that this behaviour reflected the norm of British male soldierly conduct and showed what Ethelmer called 'flagrant and unparalleled depravity'.[46] She suggested that 'soldiering be under such honest conditions as other artisanship, and the private (on evidence of decent behaviour) be equally free with the officer to enter upon family ties and prove himself a civilised being.'[47] A clear distinction between soldier and officer is made here by Ethelmer, indicating that by allowing the troops, who were mainly responsible for the spread of the disease, to marry, the need for brothels - and hence the chance of contracting a venereal disease - could be reduced. However, the suggestion that the officers were 'civilised beings' suggests that, even among those who opposed the Acts, there was a reluctance to admit that officers, and by association, gentlemen, might carry venereal disease into the upper echelons of society.

Reluctance translated to suppression as women within that society, it seemed, were blockaded by denial from every angle:

[45] Ethelmer, 'The Contagious Diseases Acts: a Warning', p. 481.
[46] Ethelmer, 'The Contagious Diseases Acts: a Warning', p. 481.
[47] Ethelmer, 'The Contagious Diseases Acts: a Warning', p. 481.

> woman's role as reformer relies on her perceived distance from moral contamination, requiring society's silence on syphilis to ensure her innocence of male vice, whether in general or in her betrothed.[48]

This idea is linked to the imbalance of blame in Lucy Bland's quotation from Victorian social reformer, Mrs Mary Bunting in her speech to the National Union of Women Workers:

> If we insist on merely clearing the streets of the women so that our eyes may be less pained than they are at present, and our youth less exposed to temptation, we lull ourselves into a false security, and the disease, for which the state of our streets is an outward manifestation, will get more thorough hold of the system for being driven inwards.[49]

Bunting's inference is that no matter how reformers attempt to stop prostitution, men will still be able to access these women and continue to become contaminated thus proliferating disease wherever they go. And those around Edith do her direct harm in their collaboration to keep her as distant from the idea of contamination as is possible; misinformation succinctly camouflages the truth. Mrs Beale assures Evadne that Edith's father approves of the match, saying, 'they have known each other all their lives' and 'the one thing that reconcile[s her father] to parting with Edith was her choice of a man who had grown up under [their] own eyes. I can assure you that we know his faults quite as well as his good qualities'. This laxity of parental responsibility is further compounded by imprudence, a refusal to face reality and a distorted view of women's influence when Edith announces with a flash of enthusiasm, 'if he is *bad*, I will make him good; if he is lost, I will save him!' The poor girl is not helped by her deluded mother's response: '"Spoken like a true woman, dearest!" her mother said, rising to kiss her, and then standing back to look up at her with yearning love and admiration' (all *HT*,

[48] Kennedy, 'Syphilis and the Hysterical Female: the limits of realism in Sarah Grand's *The Heavenly Twins*', p. 264.
[49] Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Feminism, Sex and Morality*, p. 121.

p. 234). In their protected insularity, they can have no inkling of the odious future that awaits Edith. The scenes of Angelica witnessing Edith's descent into madness are harrowing leaving a contemporary reader in no doubts of the consequences inherent in marrying a diseased man.

Not all men are party to these delusions however; Mr Price, an American gentleman of more open views, explains to Mr St. John, the narrow-minded English clergyman who is also in love with Edith, 'you persuade women to marry these men. The arrangement is perfect. Man's safety, and man's pleasure; if there is any sin in it, damn the woman. She's weak; she can't retaliate' (*HT*, p. 186). In line with Mona Caird's earlier opinion, 'religious enthusiasm' forces St. John to strike back with 'Heaven forbid that women should ever know anything about it'. Grand could not allow this opinion to proliferate and it is speedily corrected by Price:

> Heaven permits them by the thousand to make painful personal acquaintance with the subject. And I assure you [...] that the indignation which has long been simmering [...] among those same delicate dames whom you have in your mind to keep in ignorance of the source of most of their sufferings, mental and physical, is fast approaching the boiling point of rebellion. [...] the time is at hand [...] for a thorough ventilation of the subject. It is the question of all others which must either be ignored until society is disintegrated by the licence that attitude allows, or considered openly and seriously. [...] I see [...] every inclination to help and defend the suffering sex, and every habit except the handling of facts. The subject's repulsive enough [...] right-minded people shrink in disgust even from what is their obvious duty in the matter, and shirk it upon various pretexts...But there is work for the strong man still [...] and it is a [...] difficult task [...] one to put him on his mettle and win him great renown because it is held to be impossible.
>
> *HT*, p. 188.

The juxtaposition of these contrasting opinions sums up Grand's view of the changes that needed to take place for both women and men to move forward into a more equally responsible future. In her writing, she displays confidence that women were perfectly capable of making the correct decisions for themselves, but only if they were in possession of all the necessary facts. Nothing could be gained by reliance on 'women's finer sensibilities and better moral judgement' if that judgement was flawed by omission of relevant information.[50] Ellis Ethelmer agreed with a more harmonious approach to the search for a moral balance:

> For the abhorrence of a double morality – the aspiration for the "cleanliness of the sexes" – is happily an ever wider-growing impulse in both [...] it is the vital question of the progress of humanity, to which injustice is a check and hindrance: the advance from the brutal to the higher man – that ascending type which is even now in volition and actual and general evolution.[51]

An 'evolution' of male behaviour was thus mapped out as a major concern for both genders in the *fin de siècle*; an alteration of male protectionist attitudes toward women was imperative to allow them to develop with an informed, educated approach that would facilitate enlightened life choices. Bland says that these ideas

> were rooted in a wider feminist vision in which women had freedom of movement in all spheres of society, and the issue of men's behaviour towards women was squarely on the political agenda.[52]

Men, therefore, were also obliged to reconsider lascivious pre-marital habits that impacted on women and spread disease; this necessitated a progressive development of moral attitudes that

[50] Kennedy, 'Syphilis and the Hysterical Female: the limits of realism in Sarah Grand's *The Heavenly Twins*', p. 264.
[51] Ethelmer, 'The Contagious Diseases Acts: a Warning', p. 483.
[52] Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Feminism, Sex and Morality*, p. 122.

would instil confidence and respect from both sexes in order to be worthy of a brighter future. Following the trend by pioneering women such as Butler, Caird and Grand, sympathetic male authors of the time began to show, in their characters, how this evolution was taking place from a male perspective.

CHAPTER II

MONSTROUS MASCULINITY

Who knows what such a man may do? So very wicked a contriver.[1]

Fear of the insidious infiltration of diseased males within Victorian society was not confined to New Woman authors. Bram Stoker clearly embodied the threat of contamination in the character of Dracula and this extension of the theme to a male-authored text suggests a degree of sympathetic agreement between authors of both genders in the *fin de siècle*. Stoker's characters indicate a delineation between the unacceptable predatory nature of Dracula and the ideals of upright manliness portrayed by the Crew of Light. In these characters, Stoker explores an evolution of masculinity from narrow-minded, rakish decadence towards a more forward-thinking gender equality displaying progressive behaviour patterns. The boundary lines surrounding these two states were often blurred by the traditional privilege of societal position; Count Dracula is an aristocrat of ancient lineage, but, like Grand's Menteith, has evolved into a predator who will infect society if ignored and uninhibited. While a parallel can be seen between this and the spread of syphilis, Stoker investigates a mode of masculinity which required eradication to ensure the purity of Victorian society.

In Dracula's lineage, Stoker depicts anomalous perplexities in social-constructed masculinity that should be respectable and responsible, but harbours disease at its deepest levels. Portrayed variously as monster, ravisher, child-man and even, rather oddly, as 'an

[1] Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa*, Volumes 1-4, p. 488.

implied role model of manliness', *Dracula* has challenged critics for over a century and chilled its reader with an evil predator who threatens to destabilise the very roots of Victorian humanity.[2] It is reasonable to infer that the Count is bent on destroying mankind to become the warped eugenicist of an horrific, genetically-strong vampiric race, but analysis of this figure is made more problematic by the absence of an omniscient narrator. Stoker manipulates events by employing a series of unreliable narrators, although he insists, in his introduction to the novel, that

> all needless matters have been eliminated, so that history almost at variance with the possibilities of later-day belief may stand forth as simple fact. There is throughout no statement of past things wherein memory may err, for all the records chosen are exactly contemporary, given from the standpoints and within the range of knowledge of those who made them.
>
> *D*, p. 5.

The facts are more problematic than he suggests. All of the scribes are emotionally affected by the events they record and the 'contemporary' aspect makes their 'standpoints' more unreliable, biased variously by the gamut of sensations experienced immediately prior to the time of writing: terror, hysteria, hatred, love, sympathy, superiority and excitement, to name but a few. Thus, any perspective the reader gains on Dracula as a complex personality is given through accounts which are weighted in favour of the chroniclers. Close reading of the text gives some insight into the machinations of the Count, but without direct access to his inner thoughts he will always remain enigmatic. Nina Auerbach describes Dracula as 'an imposing silence in a world of storytellers who

[2] Andrew Smith, *Victorian Demons: Medicine, Masculinity and the Gothic at the Fin de Siècle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 37.

are obsessed, not only with what they have to tell, but with the breathtakingly efficient media that lets them tell it.[3]

While creating an ambiguous relationship between his reader and main character, Stoker's use of innovative, contemporary media techniques also distances the Count from the storytellers as it creates a line of demarcation between ancient and modern which Dracula, as the archaic male, is unable to cross. Auerbach advances the proposition that:

> Repelled by the up-to-date technology that is inseparable from communication, Dracula un-writes himself from his novel by shrinking into the object of others' stories, stories he can neither hear nor tell.[4]

Dracula's lack of voice is one of the main enduring strengths of the novel which leaves readers with the desire to understand what drives this enigmatic creature. Auerbach's ideas inform a theory that by failing to keep apace of emerging thought and technology, Dracula contributes to his own demise as the vampire hunters utilise many modern devices to both hunt the Count and to relate their tales. In the light of this, it becomes imperative for a masculinity under threat to develop an awareness of emergent discourses and their interaction with various subaltern counterpublics. By depicting a strong anti-hero, Stoker is able to unravel less savoury aspects of *fin-de-siècle* masculinity which were largely avoided by contemporary discourses, but which caused substantial concerns. Integral to the purpose of an anti-hero is the exaggeration of traits that are unacceptable to society and to place them in juxtaposition with the shining qualities of the hero figures. Stoker's engagement with these figures indicates an affinity with those New Woman discourses

[3] Nina Auerbach, 'Dracula Keeps Rising From the Grave', in Elizabeth Miller, ed., *Dracula: The Shade and the Shadow* (Essex: Desert Island Books, 1988), p. 25.
[4] Auerbach, 'Dracula Keeps Rising from the Grave', p. 26.

which elicited the need for a societal review of acceptable and unacceptable qualities in a hero. The contrast between the qualities of the anti-hero and the Crew of Light correlates with many New Woman writings which demanded a corresponding modification in traditional attitudes towards hegemonic Victorian masculinity.

Steeped in masculine tradition, Count Dracula is, by his own admission, of an ancient line of conquerors: 'in [his] blood flows the blood of many brave races who fought as the lion fights, for lordship' (*D*, p. 33). It is by this heritage that he measures his own masculinity and pride: 'I am noble, I am *boyar*,' 'to a *boyar* the pride of his house and name is his own pride, [...] their glory is his glory, [...] their fate is his fate' (*D*, pp. 26 & 33). Dracula's relish of the strength and distinction gained by his ancestors in the field of battle and empire building gives an insight into his own character: he will plan a campaign carefully; is ruthless in his pursuit of the desired outcome; is likely to be tyrannical and is acutely aware of the prestige of eugenics for the continuing strength and honour of his race. Unfortunately, Dracula, like the traditional rake figure, does not recognise his flaws; the inference of his diseased blood as a metaphor for the spread of syphilis through an unsuspecting English society is a warning for them to be ever vigilant against an aristocracy which may spread tainted blood and thus be unfit for improved eugenicist ideals.

Eugenics was a prominent issue in the *fin de siècle*: exploration of 'the study of agencies under social control which may improve or impair racial qualities of future generations either physically or mentally' was undertaken by Sir Francis Galton, a cousin

of Charles Darwin.[5] Following the discoveries by his cousin that humans were constantly evolving, Galton probed the idea that natural selection might be enhanced by elements of deliberate selection: to establish this, he introduced the term 'eugenics' in 1883. *Fin-de-siècle* authors included applied eugenics in a number of books, looking into the social breeding aspects of it rather than approaching the subject as a scientific study. As late as 1926, A. M. Carr-Saunders' book tried to make distinctions between the social and scientific aspects clear for all; it is understandable that many *fin-de-siècle* authors dealt with the social implications of applied eugenics.[6]

Stoker makes it immediately clear that the evolution of Dracula's physical and mental qualities is undesirable. The Count's failure to evolve is inferred through his 'quiet smile, with the sharp canine teeth lying over the red underlip [...which showed] as well as if he had spoken that I should be careful' (*D*, p. 37). Hereditary traits implicit in the *boyar* figure are the imposition of fear in his underlings by the very power of his character and intolerance of disobedience as it will warrant a violent reprisal. Relating to the development of violence in man, Michael Kimmel states that anthropologists have identified themes which lead 'towards both interpersonal violence and intersocietal violence' and that 'the ideal for manhood as the fierce and handsome warrior' is the first item on their list.[7] The relationship between this warrior figure and Dracula's understanding of manliness is evident. Kimmel further states that, even in modern America, 'male violence is a way to prove masculinity' and, with his violent past, this is the only means Dracula has of continuing what he regards as a successful heritage of

[5] A. M. Carr-Saunders, *Eugenics* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1926), p. 26. (A detailed study into the history of and differences between applied and scientific eugenics can be found in this book.)
[6] A.M. Carr-Saunders, *Eugenics*.
[7] Michael S. Kimmel, *The Gendered Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 267.

violence.[8] Isolated in his castle and repelled by the surrounding population, he becomes a diminished shadow of his former glory.

While he remains pompous regarding his heritage, Dracula is also astute enough to realise that there is no future for him in his own land: 'the walls of my castle are broken; the shadows are many, and the wind breathes cold through the broken battlements and casements' (*D*, p. 29). The castle as a metaphor for 'the precarious structures of masculinity' emphasises that Dracula's line has come to an end in this place: the people fear him, but not for his glorious protection of them from marauders – he himself has become the marauder; there are only vestiges of his former glory and he remains a 'saturnine' old man in his solitary existence with no hope of procreation (*D*, p. 29).[9] He has so lost touch with his heritage that he is reduced to the female tasks of preparing food and making beds. The only paternal role he performs is to provide abducted babies for his three prior vampiric conquests to feed on; the dead children serve to magnify the impotence of his present existence. To maintain the *status quo* strips him of his masculinity and condemns him to become an eternal nonentity. By contrast, his chosen house in England is an historical building 'of stone immensely thick' and 'like part of a keep' (*D*, p. 29). Apart from the innuendo of phallic strength here, the idea of the strong, erect keep gives the Count a good solid foundation on which to rebuild the structures of his masculinity, which is obviously his eventual intention: 'a house cannot be made habitable in a day; and, after all, how few days go to make up a century' (*D*, p. 29). Dracula, in his immortality, does not view time in the same frame as mere mortals do; he is planning his new dynasty with patience, care and consideration of detail. Evolving his modes of

[8] Kimmel, *The Gendered Society*, p. 266.
[9] Michael Kaufman, 'The Construction of Masculinity and the Triad of Men's Violence' in Michael S. Kimmel and Michael Messner, eds., *Men's Lives* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2001), p. 12.

masculinity is central to this plan: the Count must use rejuvenated phallic strength as a basis for the creation of his new vampiric race. However, isolated from discourses around changes in masculinity and unaware of the implications of spreading disease, Dracula continues to define his masculinity in terms of physical superiority and outdated skills. He thus fails to relate to *fin-de-siècle* gender evolution and is unprepared for the resistance he encounters.

Dracula's assumption that gender roles have remained static over the centuries is ironic as he has used many of his skills to initiate his plans. His attempt to create a new race depends on foreknowledge and underlines the Count's purpose for landing in Whitby; he has carefully chosen Mina Murray as the co-creator of his new race of vampires. The characters' diaries and letters show that Mina's plans for her trip to Whitby run concurrently with Jonathan's time in Castle Dracula. The Count's ability to create mesmeric connections over large distances, as seen in his control of Renfield, enables him to rifle Mina's inner thoughts, insidiously introducing infection from afar. Stoker further isolates Mina within a state of silent suggestion that effectively cuts her off from any form of interactive discourse and leaves her prey to the actions and propositions of a diseased mind. Mesmerism was a familiar concept in the *fin de siècle*; the creation of eighteenth-century physician, Franz Anton Mesmer, it was widely adopted as a form of entertainment by mid-nineteenth century Victorians. From the 1830s through to the 1860s, mesmerism 'was practiced in universities [...] country houses and cottages, vicarages and town halls, pubs and hospitals. It could be found in bedrooms and on city streets, from London to the Highlands of Scotland and from Dublin to Calcutta'.[10] Mesmerism encouraged the

[10] Alison Winter, *Mesmerised: Power of Mind in Victorian Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 4.

Victorian idea that 'one person's mind, or the mental character of a group, supplied the key to the collective mental features buried within an apparently fragmented society' and gave the mesmerist a means by which to explore this.[11] Stoker introduces mesmeric links between Dracula and Mina as it was an idea *fin-de-siècle* Victorians had come to see as practiced by charlatans with nefarious purposes.

Stoker underlines Dracula's possible infiltration of not only a woman's mind, but also of his choice of 'an apparently fragmented society' as his chosen target. The widespread practice of mesmerism in all sorts of locations and at all levels of society ensured that most Victorians would have some idea of the powers of the mesmerist; this makes it the perfect tool for an author to use to play on the reader's previous knowledge. As the century progressed, however, more sophisticated scientific ideas, particularly breakthroughs in medical fields, replaced the inexact practice of mesmerism which then gradually 'found its way into the pages of poets and novelists.'[12] George Du Maurier's 1894 novel, *Trilby*, introduced Victorians to the evils of Svengali, an intrusive and repellent charlatan with a dastardly ulterior motive.[13] Trilby, the heroine, has no recollection of large swathes of her life while she is under the influence of Svengali's mesmeric powers. Svengali, like Dracula, is presented as the antithesis of the clean-living English gentleman: he had no 'pity, love, tenderness, manliness, courage, reverence [or] charity [...and] was about as bad as they make 'em' (*T*, p. 57). The real danger of these antithetical figures, however, is their predatory nature. The powers and practise of mesmerism brought a terrifying new aspect to the gender equation: 'mesmerism could

[11] Winter, *Mesmerised: Power of Mind in Victorian Britain,* p. 12.
[12] Winter, *Mesmerised: Power of Mind in Victorian Britain,* p. 5.
[13] George Du Maurier, *Trilby* (London: Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., 1894). (All future reference will be to this edition.)

transform a conscious individual into a living marionette' completely unaware of their behaviour when in a trance.[14] Winter describes a subject of Victorian public mesmerism:

> her eyes are open but their sense is shut. Her sense of smell and touch disappeared, as did all awareness of her surroundings. She also lost her speech and hearing unless the mesmerist addressed her. A strange communion would develop between them: she would speak his thoughts, taste the food in his mouth, move her limbs in a physical echo of his.[15]

That Dracula could gain an intercourse of this intimacy with respectable Victorian womanhood was a chilling thought for the reader and suggests the Count's ability to infiltrate English society in a particularly insidious way. Stoker gave Dracula vastly superior powers to those of Svengali who must both concentrate on and be in visual contact with Trilby to hold her in his thrall. Dracula, being more powerful, is able to attempt complete mastery over women in order to create distant mesmeric links with victims. This allows him to devise a viable scheme to infect the women of an unsuspecting society and initiate a new beginning, a new partner for eternity and offspring befitting his status as *boyar* of the vampire race. By using this trope, Stoker implies a parallel between mesmerism and sexual disease, and thus gives a chilling warning in line with those of the New Woman authors.

By addressing the heinous possibilities of diseased infiltration, Stoker was able to articulate ideas antithetical to the contemporary ideals of masculinity that he considered worth preserving. Purity among the men of the English race was a subject which progressively gained in popularity with *fin-de-siècle* Victorians. Following the furore of

[14] Winter, *Mesmerised: Power of Mind in Victorian Britain,* P. 3.
[15] Winter, *Mesmerised: Power of Mind in Victorian Britain,* p. 3

the Contagious Diseases Acts Campaigns, books and magazines promoted healthy attitudes and pursuits for young Englishmen. Books such as *The Boy Makes the Man: A Book of Example and Encouragement for the Young,* and *Self Help; with Illustrations of Character, Conduct and Perseverance* were designed to provide a framework of healthy examples and pastimes for young and old alike to follow in order to produce a race of men pure in both mind and body.[16] *Boy's Own Paper* encouraged healthy pastimes such as bicycle riding, conjuring tricks, building model engines, sailing, egg collecting and keeping canaries as suitable diversions for young men.[17] *Boy's Own Paper* also ran stirring adventure stories focused on both real and imaginary heroes penned by some of the most famous writers of the time. Prestigious authors such as Jules Verne, R.M. Ballantyne, Talbot Baines Reed and Arthur Conan Doyle were regular contributors; W.E. Grace, the renowned cricketer, also composed cricket articles to encourage his young fans.[18] In October 1891, a young man was advised to 'Live well. Take lots of exercise and always have something to employ your mind. Cold bath every morning. Hard mattress. Not much bed clothing. Medicine: a simple tonic but not iron.'[19] In her novel, *The Story of a Modern Woman*, Ella Hepworth Dixon depicts a perfectly-dressed young man attending a society salon. He gives the 'impression that, from the parting of his beautifully cared-for hair to the pointed toes of his shiny boots, [he] was elaborately, exquisitely new and clean'; he comments, 'but how on earth is a feller to feel fit in the morning, if he don't have a cold tub, what?'[20] This provides a direct contrast to Dracula's upbringing: he was surrounded by wars and gore, violent male role models and loves 'the shade and the shadow and

[16] W.H. Davenport Adams, *The Boy Makes the Man: A Book of Example and Encouragement for the Young* (London: T. Nelson, 1876).
Samuel Smiles, *Self Help with Illustrations of Character, Conduct and Perseverance*.
[17] *Boy's Own Paper* (London: The Religious Tract Society), (March 1880; April 1881; May 1888; February 1895 and Summer Supplement 1894.)
[18] *Boy's Own Paper,* (Various issues of the 1880s & 90s).
[19] *Boy's Own Paper*. (Various issues of the 1880s & 90s).
[20] Hepworth Dixon, *The Story of a Modern Woman*, p. 98.

would be alone with [his] thoughts when [he] may' (*D.*, p. 24). Far from living well, he is undead; he does not eat, but his diet of blood contains a surfeit of iron; there is no evidence that he bathes at all, in fact Harker pointedly notes that Dracula's 'breath was rank'; his sleeping quarters in the crypt emit 'a deathly, sickly odour' and when he sleeps he resembles 'a filthy leech, exhausted with his repletion' (*D*, pp. 50 & 53). While there is a correlation between this description and that of a state of advanced disease, it is reasonable to assume that any thoughts occupying the Count's mind would be calculating and evil. Thus he is presented as the antithesis of the civilised, healthy Victorian man.

This antithesis is further emphasised in Dracula's predatory pursuit of women, in particular of Mina. As seen, the vampire is in possession of a power which allows him knowledge across time and space. He has laid his plans with care and, when rescuing Jonathan from the vampire women, it begins to be clear that it is not Jonathan himself the Count desires, but something Harker can provide. Dracula does not want to feed on Harker himself as he promises the she-devils that 'when I am done with him [Harker] you shall kiss him at your will' (*D*, p. 43). He reinforces the import of this in his need to waken Jonathan 'for there is work to be done' (*D*, p. 43). This work is not to nourish himself from the Englishman, but to use him simply as a stepping-stone to enable a passage to England and Mina; everyone else is a disposable means to this end. The *Boyar* remains constantly focused on his goal of applied eugenics to re-energise his blood lines. Dracula therefore makes a clear distinction between those who are a disposable means of nutrition and those he selects for transmogrification. While the crew of the *Demeter* are simply provender, they allow him to resume a youthful, socially-acceptable mien; it is by sucking the essence of men that his own manly appearance can be reincarnated. To maintain a robust manliness, the Count will feed on and destroy the strong men of the society he inhabits. In

this way, he will deplete competitive masculinity and attain ascendency for himself and his progeny. Although Stoker never allows Dracula explanations of his actions and intentions, the inference is made that once his virility is restored, Dracula can embark on the audacious quest to perpetuate a new vampire genus at the expense of civilised society. Stoker thus reinforces his warning that, if unchecked, the spread of disease by predatory rakes could irreversibly change the path of evolution.

Traditionally, the rake figure has revelled in stalking his female prey as a means of both undermining the men who protect her and of increasing her value to himself as he foils more people. This idea was set by Samuel Richardson as early as 1748 when his character, Lovelace, while planning his abduction of the heroine, Clarissa, imagines the ultimate goal of his enterprises:

> Then the rewarding end of all; to carry off such a girl as this, in spite of all her watchful and implacable friends; and in spite of a prudence and reserve which I never met with in any of the sex: what a triumph! What a triumph over the whole sex![21]

This idea is given further explanation by Brian Luke in his article, "Violent Love: Hunting, heterosexuality, and the erotics of men's predation", where he explores the phenomenon of white men hunting indigenous animals because they were seen as 'a challenging adversary' and because they were 'protected from sportsmen in most other parts of the world (thus greatly increasing their trophy value)'.[22] Hunting a precious target defines Dracula's predatory attack on Lucy. The Count insidiously entices his prey to the dark, quiet graveyard on the cliffs of Whitby where, outwith her normal environment and

[21] Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa*, Volume 1, p. 150.
[22] Brian Luke, 'Violent Love: Hunting, heterosexuality, and the erotics of men's predation', *Feminist Studies*, 24:3 (Fall 1998), p. 5.

unprotected by any male entourage, Lucy is vulnerable. He feeds on her to ensure his dominance over her before later parading his trophy win over her would-be saviours: 'your girls that you love are mine already; and through them you and others shall yet be mine' (*D*, p. 267). For Dracula, the fact that he can infiltrate traditional protective male bastions increases the value of both Lucy and Mina. He is rigorously working towards his goal of emasculating English manliness in order to create and control his own perverted ideal vampiric society.

Stoker highlighted that Victorian patriarchy's protectionist arrogance was exactly what allowed Dracula to feed on the very essence of their manliness. The type of protectionism that enabled men to take full control of a situation while completely disempowering the woman is severely criticised by Stoker as it allows space within which the predator can act to strengthen his own virility. As a result, Dracula is able to feast on the essence of English masculinity: within 'ten days [...] that poor pretty creature [Lucy] that [they] all love [...] had put into her veins [...] the blood of four strong men'; this blood, imbibed by the vampire within hours of the transfusions, allows almost no time for dilution before it invigorates him (*D*, p. 138). In a parallel with the spread of syphilis, the predatory male would be enabled to corrupt virtuous women, dilute the essence of manliness and threaten the continuance of civilised culture. In considering the continuation of humanity, Stoker further warns that the model of womanhood society perpetuates in women like Lucy is outmoded; she is not worth the sacrifice her defenders make for her. Lucy is a typical nineteenth-century, upper-class female skilled in the arts necessary to make a suitable marriage; Stoker presents her, like Edith Beale of *The Heavenly Twins*, as 'a being

made to please, to love, and to seek support; a being inferior to man, and near to angels'.[23] While this may have sounded ideal to some, in the same way as Edith and other over-protected, incorrectly-educated Victorian women, Lucy is unschooled in the ways of men and thus unprepared for the realities of life. Throughout her ordeals, in her waking moments, she is a portrait of demure womanhood, but has no reserves of her own when anything untoward overtakes her. Again, in common with Edith, the contemplation of her future involves nothing more than the role of pretty wife and mother with a wealthy, titled husband; characters of this mould lack physical or mental resources and this renders them unfit for the approaching new century. Lucy's familial weakness of sleepwalking suggests a degree of mental instability; as Mina notes that 'Lucy's father had the same habit', it may affect the future eugenics of Lord Godalming's family, like the moral instability of Moncrieff which destroys the eugenic hopes of the Beale family (*D*, p. 72). For Stoker, it was important, when considering marriage and future progeny, that a woman be aware of the dangers inherent should she make uninformed, blind choices. Unlike Grand, Stoker did not permit this woman's liaison with the predatory male to result in progeny from this unequal union thus allowing an element of hope for aristocratic lineage. As she lacks the education, upbringing and moral strength to resist defilement, or to save her children from it, Stoker renders the obsolete archetype barren when Lucy's only path to a peaceful future is through penetration by a sterile wooden stake. His ideas are akin to those of Olive Schreiner whose short story 'The Buddhist Priest's Wife' explores the idea of suitability for marriage.[24] Schreiner's male character says, 'I don't want a woman to look after; she must be self-sustaining […] life is too full of cares to have a helpless child added to them' to which the woman reinforces that 'character will dominate over all and will come out at

[23] Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Common Sense About Women* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1891), p. 229.
[24] Schreiner, 'The Buddhist Priest's Wife' in *Daughters of Decadence: Women Writers of the Fin-de-Siecle*, ed., Elaine Showalter (London: Virago, 1993), pp. 84-97.

last'.[25] An unsuitable wife will offer no support to a husband, but Stoker, once more, was more brutal than New Woman authors as he showed how women lacking the strength of character to evolve could hinder humanity's ability to face the challenges of the new century.

Dracula also realises that the weak woman is not worth fighting for in his abandonment of the seduced maiden. The Count portrays enduring rakish qualities set out by Richardson over a hundred and fifty years earlier: 'A love of intrigue. An invention for mischief. A triumph in subduing', and Dracula uses all his predatory wiles to follow this through, like Lovelace, discarding his conquests along the way until he meets what he thinks is the 'beloved of [his] soul'.[26] Dracula is however, more ambitious than Lovelace, whose narrow view is the conquest of one woman and revenge on her family – the Count intends to use his wiles to establish a whole new race at the expense of another. In his choice of woman, however, Dracula makes his fatal error. Mina is a completely different type of woman from Lucy; Mina has a 'man's brain – a man should have were he much gifted – and woman's heart' (*D*, p. 207).[27] Equipped with the New Woman attributes of an education, a career, modern accessories such as her typewriter, and the confidence to travel across Europe on her own to rescue her future husband, Mina has the wherewithal to rebel against outdated modes of male domination. In keeping with Richardson and Grand's predatory males, the Count is unable to intuit this as an independent, strong woman is a phenomenon which, despite his vast skills, he cannot fathom. He realises that a stronger partner is needed for the eugenics of a new vampire race, but fails to grasp the implications

[25] Schreiner, 'The Buddhist Priest's Wife', p. 91.
[26] Richardson, *Clarissa*, pp. 172 & 149.
[27] Van Helsing's odd English often does not make full grammatical sense. However, to change these inaccuracies would change the essence of the text.

of this new feminism. Steeped as he is in violence, both on the battlefield and in his dealings with the opposite sex, his behaviour is ingrained in him through centuries of tainted blood and uninhibited violent behaviour. He knows that his bloodline needs to be strengthened, but does not realise that this change is not a singular isolated one: there are many behavioural and social values that need to improve before applied eugenics can be effective. Because Dracula's reference point for women is outdated, he expects full submission to follow his violation of Mina. Dracula's rough wooing of the superior female is foreshadowed by Renfield:

> the bride maidens rejoice the eyes that wait the coming of the bride; but when the bride draweth nigh, then the maidens shine not to the eyes that are filled.
>
> *D*, p. 96.

As the Count's red eyes are relevant to the mesmerism of his victims, Renfield's prophecy suggests that all the 'maidens' who preceded Mina will pale into insignificance once Dracula makes her his. When this does not materialise and she rebels, Dracula's energy and power base are thrown off kilter. He, like many Victorian men, has no response to a woman who developed individuality or to the desire of men to fight for her cause. Dracula lacks the ability to react to this modern woman; he desires her, but, lacking any modicum of gentle wooing skills, has no idea how to realise his needs and desires. He is thus, like Lucy, unable to adapt and must therefore be destroyed. Stoker proves quite radical in his lack of tolerance towards these outmoded gender models. He does not offer or suggest methods of adapting their behaviour, preferring instead to obliterate them.

The New Woman, however, is considered by Stoker to be worthy of development and, in opposition to protectionist practices, he has Renfield warn Mina of the evils of

Dracula by attempting to direct her to the scriptures in his comment 'for the blood is the life' (*D*, p. 206). While Auerbach and Skall suggest that this may refer to a popular Victorian tonic, reading the biblical passage in Deuteronomy 12:20-23, from which this quotation comes, is more revealing:

> when the LORD thy God shall enlarge thy border, as he hath promised thee, and thou shalt say, I will eat flesh, because thy soul longeth to eat flesh; thou mayest eat flesh, whatsoever thy soul lusteth after […] Only be sure that thou eat not the blood: for the blood is the life; and thou mayest not eat the life with the flesh.[28]

Dracula's soul, or lack of one, leads him to lust after that which is forbidden to man by God. It also aligns the vampire with Satan's desires: 'honour and empire with revenge enlarged / By conquering this new world', but indicates that by drinking blood he will thus be unable to 'enlarge his borders'.[29] Ideas surrounding exclusion from the grace of God can be explored further by reading Leviticus 17:10-14:

> and whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among you, that eateth any manner of blood; I will even set my face against that soul that eateth blood, and will cut him off from among his people.
>
> 11 For the life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul.
>
> 12 Therefore I said unto the children of Israel, No soul of you shall eat blood, neither shall any stranger that sojourneth among you eat blood […] 14 For it is the life of all flesh; the blood of it is for the life thereof: therefore I said unto the children of Israel, Ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh: for the life of all flesh is the blood thereof: whosoever eateth it shall be cut off.[30]

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[28] Editor's footnote 5, 207, suggests that 'various late Victorian tonics used the advertising slogan "The Blood is the Life." Renfield might be referring to Hughes Blood Pills or Clarke's World-famed Blood Mixture. Both claimed to vitalize the body by purifying the blood.'
The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments: King James Version. Oxford: Oxford University Press, N.D.

[29] John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (London: Penguin Books, 1989), BkIV, L391-92.

[30] *The Holy Bible*.

Renfield, in warning Mina to beware of the stranger among them who has been cut off from God's grace, alerts her to the depth of disease and evil within the Count, giving her the autonomy to make an informed decision regarding her own future. Her understanding of the scriptural repercussions of blood drinking is what underlines Mina's own horror when she realises that she has been forced to drink the blood of her seducer. It can also define the sheer force of will she seems to muster in order to combat the effects of Dracula's power over her. Far from allowing men to control her, Stoker gave Mina the mental strength to resist evil, fight for her future and make informed choices.

To emphasise his confidence that women could control their own destinies, Stoker created a 'terrible and mysterious enemy' who was not easily rebuffed (*D*, p. 208). 'The Draculas […] had dealings with the Evil One [and] learned his secrets in the Scholomance' (*D*, p. 212). Emily Gerard describes this superstition:

> […] the *Scholomance*, or school supposed to exist somewhere in the heart of the mountains, and where all the secrets of nature, the language of animals, and all imaginable magic spells and charms are taught by the devil in person. Only ten scholars are admitted at a time, and when the course of learning has expired and nine of them are released to return to their homes, the tenth scholar is detained by the devil as payment, and mounted on an *Ismeju* [dragon] he becomes henceforward the devil's aide-de-camp, and assists him in 'making the weather,'.[31]

Stoker, despite not mounting his anti-hero on a dragon, has given him the powers of the tenth scholar as Dracula has mastered all the magic spells including independently 'making the weather'. Monstrously, he takes corruption to a new level by perverting the goodness of his own living offspring:

[31] Emily Gerard, 'Transylvanian Superstitions', *The Nineteenth Century*. 18:101 (July 1885), p. 136.

> there have been from the loins of this very one great men and good women, and their graves make sacred the earth where alone this foulness can dwell. For it is not the least of its terrors that this evil thing is rooted deep in all good; in soil barren of holy memories it cannot rest.
>
> *D*, pp. 212-213.

Apart from the revelation that Dracula had, in life, respectable legitimate children, this underlines the depths of his corruptive power; not only does he rest on the remains of his own progeny, he defiles their sacred burial by absorbing the 'good habits […] that constitute by far the greater part of man's moral conduct' and recycles them as evil 'miasma' (*D*, p. 221).[32] If, like the syphilitic male, the Count is perverted enough to defile the sanctity of his own offspring, the reader may be assured that he will have no compunction in corrupting any and every layer of his newly-chosen society. Stoker's spine-chilling innuendo was intended to warn humanity to guard their 'moral conduct' against unforeseen evil influences which could creep 'with almost imperceptible slowness [...and seem] to have a sentience and vitality of their own' (*D*, p. 226). Stoker warned that if Victorian men and women were not constantly vigilant against perverse and 'evil influences', these would seep into their bloodlines and corrupt from within.

The idea of corrupted bloodlines is extended through the perverse vampiric blood ties that Dracula attempts to seep into Mina despite everyone's vigilance and it allows him to facilitate an enhanced level of evil influence over her vitality. The disturbingly erotic seduction scene in chapter XXI contains many anomalous features which confuse who is raping whom. The homoerotic feminising of Jonathan as the traditional rapine-prone figure, 'his face flushed and breathing heavily', who also ends up with 'his white night-

[32] Smiles, *Self Help with Illustrations of Character, Conduct and Perseverance*, p. 303.

robe stained with blood', akin to the respectable virgin after her wedding night, initially appears to emasculate the husband as the predatory male violates his wife (*D*, pp. 246 & 248). However, Kosofsky Sedgwick points out that

> To misunderstand the kind of property women are or the kind of transaction in which alone their value is realisable means, for a man, to endanger his own position as a subject in the relationship or exchange: to be permanently feminised or objectified in relation to other men. On the other hand, success in making this transaction requires a willingness and ability to temporarily risk, or assume, a feminized status. Only the man who can proceed through that stage, while remaining in cognitive control of the symbolic system that presides over sexual exchange, will be successful in achieving a relation of mastery to other men.[33]

His ability to remain in cognitive control helps lead Jonathan to understand the symbolic importance of Mina within their evolving positions. As her husband, his strength within the Crew of Light becomes imperative in order to save her; on recovery, he develops a steely resolve previously unseen. On the other hand, Mina's position is momentarily held in doubt as she is 'smeared with blood' implying a violent role in the proceedings; she is on her knees facing the Count suggesting that, while she is grasped submissively to him, it is not a complete subjugation. Dracula's 'torn-open dress', exposing his 'bare breast', may indicate that it is he who has been ravaged. Mina is depicted 'swallow[ing]' the liquid that 'spurts' out of his wound leaving him with only 'a thin stream trickl[ing] down'; it would appear that the vampire has been able to make Mina lust after his blood allowing him to climax and be left satiated and spent (all *D*, pp. 247-252). Once more reference to Du Maurier helps to explain this phenomena: Svengali, like Dracula, is able to bend Trilby to his will by employing his mesmeric power over her:

> there were two Trilbys […] with one wave of his hand over her – with one look of his eye – with a word – Svengali could turn her

[33] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, p. 51.

> into the other Trilby, his Trilby – and make her do whatever he liked.[34]

The violations that Svengali can perform on Trilby at his leisure are the underlying horror in the tale and Stoker's anti-hero echoes Du Maurier's. Dracula reveals to Mina that 'it is not the first time, or the second, that your veins have appeased my thirst', endorsing Mina's unconscious subjugation and participation in acts which are diametrically opposed to those displayed by the uninfluenced Mina who is 'the woman strong to help and save [...] the woman to be admired' (*D*, p. 251).[35] William Hughes proposes that:

> as blood is gained, lost or transferred, physical vitality is affected. In this sense, the physiological logic which governs the secretion, depletion and transfer of blood forms what may be termed a 'Sanguine Economy', a discursive phenomena which aligns both the literal and figurative qualities of blood. Individual and racial health are dependent on pure and plentiful blood; depletion or contamination brings both personal illness and racial decline.[36]

Jonathan, in his virginal role, is thus depicted as carrying 'pure and plentiful blood' as a Victorian hero should, while Dracula and Mina participate in the 'Sanguine Economy' by trading, and thus contaminating, their bodily fluids. Hughes further advances this idea:

> the Sanguine Economy […] may be regarded as a counterpart to the Spermatic Economy – a popular nineteenth-century quasi-medical discourse in which semen is regarded as a product of the blood.[37]

A new level of exchange is implied by this idea; if Mina has been unwittingly impregnated by Dracula the implications could chillingly signal complete destruction for the future of

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[34] Du Maurier, *Trilby*, pp. 440-441.
[35] Lily Watson, 'Self-Control', *Girl's Own Annual 1887 – 1888* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1888), p. 499.
[36] William Hughes, *Beyond Dracula: Bram Stoker's Fiction and its Cultural Context* (London: Macmillan Press, 2000), p. 140.
[37] Hughes, *Beyond Dracula: Bram Stoker's Fiction and its Cultural Context,* p. 140.

the English race. The Count calls Mina 'flesh of my flesh; blood of my blood; kin of my kin', words which echo the conjunction of Adam and Eve:

> this is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh. She shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of man.[38]

Dracula considers their sanguine exchange to have been a coupling in the biblical sense and he is attempting to adapt this woman to one of his own creation. There is a correlation between this and the creation of Eve in *Paradise Lost*. Eve sees Adam as

> Thou, for whom,
> And from whom, I was formed, flesh of thy flesh,
> And without whom am to no end, my guide
> And head![39]

If Dracula has a knowledge of biblical texts, it would follow that he expects Mina to respect him as Eve does Adam. However, Eve did initially fear Adam, but by explaining how she came to be, Adam assuaged these fears, persuading her to stay with him:

> whom thou fliest, of him thou art,
> His flesh, his bone. To give thee being I lent
> Out of my side to thee, nearest my heart,
> Substantial life, to have thee by my side
> Henceforth an individual solace dear.
> Part of my soul I seek thee, and thee claim
> My other half.[40]

This biblical idea is corrupted in the rape scene as the vampire opens his breast 'nearest [his] heart' bestowing on Mina his blood, his 'substantial life' in the hope that she will be his 'companion and [his] helper', thus 'claim[ing her as his] other half' (*D*, p. 252). Dracula sees them as the Adam and Eve of a new vampire race which will seek to infect and inhabit the earth, but as an unsuitable candidate for husband and progenitor, he fails to

[38] *The Holy Bible*, Genesis, 2:23.
[39] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Bk. IV, L441-444.
[40] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Bk. IV, L483-489.

understand the need for tenderness inherent in a bond of trust. Stoker criticises the Count's vision which sees women as 'solace' and to be 'claimed': he indicates to his reader that the gender balance must shift towards more enlightened times and masculinity has to readjust to evolve with the modern, stronger, more independent woman of the *fin de siècle*. Rather than allow the predator to emasculate them by enthralling women, it was imperative for men to form a bond with their chosen partners that would ensure a closeness impenetrable by outside influences. Stoker signalled that, to be successful, marriage must be a partnership and that men would have to modernise their outlook regarding this; he reinforces the idea that a loving Christian marriage was an important, sacred partnership that should neither be abandoned, nor defiled by disease for the purpose of procreation alone.

As Dracula is a disciple of Satan, Christian marriage is an impossibility and the combination of this and his failure to update his model of masculinity therefore precludes the success of the Count's plans. In 1869, John Stuart Mill stated:

> that the principle which regulates the existing social relations between the two sexes – the legal subordination of one sex to the other – is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement; and [...] it ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality, admitting no power or privilege on the one side, nor disability on the other.[41]

Although Mill's ideas were written almost thirty years before *Dracula* was published, contemporary New Woman thought at the *fin de siècle* also purported more equality in marriage and ridiculed outdated modes of thinking:

[41] John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1883), p. 1. (All further reference to this text will be taken from this edition).

> the old notion that a man ought to be the commander [in marriage] [...] is a truly comic solution of the difficulty. To preserve peace by disabling one of the combatants is a method that is naive in its injustice. [...] The husband and wife of the future will no more think of demanding subordination, on the one side or the other [...] In love, there ought to be *at least* as much respect for individuality and freedom as in friendship. Love may add to this essential foundation what it pleases; but to attempt to raise further structures without this as a basis, is to build castles in the air. It cannot last, and it does not deserve to last.[42]

While 'the holiest love was the recruiting sergeant for [the vampire's] ghastly ranks', Dracula's idea that Mina should 'come to [his] call' is at loggerheads with *fin-de-siècle* philosophies and he is thus never again permitted access to a castle 'in the air' or anywhere else (*D*, p. 259). Kosofsky Sedgwick states that ' the phrase "A man's home is his castle" offers a nicely condensed example of ideological construction [...] It reaches back to an emptied-out image of mastery and integration under feudalism' and, as feudalism has no place in *fin-de-siècle* society, Stoker is quite explicit that diseased males should never be permitted to enter a home or influence a family.[43]

Despite being denied access to any of the lairs that are his temporary homes when they are systematically destroyed by the vampire hunters, the Count's love of 'stratagem and contrivance' ensures that he has laid his plans extremely carefully and, despite being fundamentally flawed as a Victorian suitor, he is a 'strong and wily enemy' who manages to thwart the meticulous plans of the Crew of Light and escape, mesmerically influencing Mina to follow him (*D*, p. 262).[44] Mina's link with Dracula allows her to feel the aching loneliness within him and she calls him 'a poor soul who [...] is the saddest case of all'. In her goodness, she does not understand that, in common with Satan, he has had time to

[42] Caird, *Marriage and Other Essays on the Status and Destiny of Women*, pp. 143 & 145.
[43] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, p. 14.
[44] Richardson, *Clarissa*, Vol 1, p. 150.

make a firm decision to commit himself fully to the path of evil; 'farewell fear, farewell remorse. All good to me is lost. Evil be thou my good' (*D*, p. 269).[45] For Dracula, his fight is about domination and progeniture; evil and the passing of centuries have only enhanced his resolve. He sees himself as an all-powerful patriarchal figure and, in common with many Victorian men, does not realise that the same passing of centuries has consigned dominating masculinity to history.

Trapped in silence, the Count is unable to understand that his masculinity is both inappropriate and outdated. In his retreat, he utilises his mesmeric link with Mina to both maintain a hold over her and to manipulate the Crew of Light to follow to his stronghold where his planned destruction of them can take place. Stoker suggests that Dracula, unable to relate to the finer workings of Victorian society, retreats to the land of his ancient power base where he can hope to enforce his primitive masculinity and, as strangers in his land and on his terms, he can abolish modern men with ancient violence. The alert reader will assume that, as the Count moved from his disintegrating ancestral home to seek new life elsewhere, his return to a dead way of life cannot lead to renewal or hope. This signifies a masculinity in denial and retreat with no future. His own history of violence compels him to fight to the end; Stoker did not permit the unrepentant male any hope of continuance.

The Count's retreat, however, emphasises that the predatory male cannot be easily exterminated. During the journey towards Castle Dracula, he exerts his power over Mina: on the 25th October when she is found 'sleeping so soundly that [Jonathan] could not wake

[45] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Bk. IV, ll.109-111.

her', it takes three days for Van Helsing to work out that 'the Count [...] took her to see him in his earth-box on the ship' – the fiend is having Mina spend the night with him, like the rake, enticing her to his room away from her protectors (*D*, pp. 292 & 294). Once again, the idea of what the monster may have perpetrated on this woman is left to play on the mind of the reader. Dracula's misuse of Mina reaches a peak on 29th October, when Mina is enigmatic during hypnosis:

> something is going out; I can feel it pass me like a cold wind [...]' She stopped and a shudder ran through her, increasing in intensity for a few seconds, till in the end she shook as though in a palsy. [...] When she woke from the trance, she was cold, and exhausted, and languid.
>
> *D*, p. 299.

It is no coincidence that this description resembles an orgasmic experience, albeit a rather perverse one. Stoker's use of the word 'languid' brings to mind a lounging, sated figure, not one who is upset by the encounter. Once Mina and Van Helsing cross the Borgo Pass, the boundary of Dracula's lands, the vampiric influence on Mina becomes even stronger; 'she become[s] all on fire with zeal; some new guiding power be in her manifested' (*D*, p. 314). Van Helsing notes, in his odd English, that while Mina prepares supper 'she smile, and tell me she have eat already'; there is a correlation here with Dracula's behaviour at the beginning of the novel which places Mina at the threshold of vampirism (*D*, p. 315).

Her encounter with the female vampires highlights the dichotomy Mina faces as Dracula's influence threatens to overwhelm her, but once more she proves strong enough to resist. However, Stoker suggests a lingering ambiguity when, the next day, Mina urges Van Helsing to

> come away from this awful place! Let us go to meet my husband who is, I know, coming towards us.

The professor reports that

> she was looking thin and pale and weak; but her eyes were pure and glowed with fervour [...] And so with trust and hope, and yet full of fear, we go eastward to meet our friends – and *him* – whom Madam Mina tell me that she know are coming to meet us.
>
> Both *D*, p. 321.

These two passages may contain a double entendre. Following the previous episodes, the reader is left wondering who Mina's husband is and clarity is not aided by the combination of Van Helsing's strange Dutch-English and Stoker's punctuation. Mina did not mention a group arriving and the phrase following the personal pronoun '*him*' could contain one of the professor's frequent grammatical errors in 'are'. The reader is left on tenterhooks wondering to whom Mina will give her allegiance. This episode can be related to the fears of sections of Victorian society that refused to believe it possible that women could make the correct decisions regarding their own future.

Decisions made by the characters within the denouement are ambiguous for the reader:

> on an instant, came the sweep of Jonathan's great knife. I shrieked as I saw it shear through the throat; whilst at the same moment Mr Moris's bowie knife plunged into the heart.
>
> It was like a miracle; but before our very eyes, and almost in the drawing of a breath, the whole body crumbled into dust and passed from our sight.
>
> *D*, p. 325.

Throughout the novel, Stoker has taken great pains to lay out and reiterate how a vampire should be exterminated; this final, though heroic, fight fulfils none of the stipulated rituals. Emily Gerard, whose article Stoker took notes from before writing Dracula, states that the vampire

> will continue to suck the blood of other innocent people until the spirit has been exorcised, either by opening of the grave [...] and driving a stake through the corpse, or firing a pistol shot into the coffin. In very obstinate cases it is further recommended to cut off the head, or to extract the heart and burn it, strewing the ashes over the grave.[46]

Van Helsing insisted earlier that they must

> find this great Un-Dead and cut off his head and burn his heart or drive a stake through it, so that the world may rest from him.

And further that

> the nosferatu do not die like the bee when he sting once. He is only stronger; and being stronger, have yet more power to work evil. This vampire which is amongst us is of himself so strong in person as twenty men; he is of cunning more than mortal, for his cunning be the growth of ages; he have still the aids of necromancy [...] he is brute, and more than brute; he is devil in callous, and the heart of him is not; he can, within limitations, appear at will when, and where, and in any forms that are to him; [...] he can grow and become small; and he can at times vanish and come unknown.
>
> *D*, p. 209.

With all of these prodigious skills it is difficult for the reader to believe that this evil adversary can be vanquished by a simple cut and thrust never previously mentioned as

[46] *Bram Stoker's 'Dracula': A Centenial Exhibition* (Philadelphia: Rosenbach Museum and Library, 1997), p. 28, and Gerard, 'Transylvanian Superstitions', p. 142.

having any effect on a vampire. Even Dracula's dissolution is questionable when he has been seen to arrive and depart as dust throughout the novel:

> a whole myriad of little specks seemed to come blowing in through the broken window, and wheeling and circling around like a pillar of dust.
>
> *D*, p. 131.

And

> he come on moonlight rays as elemental dust
>
> *D*, p. 211.

Auerbach and Skall also state that as 'this is not the ritual communal killing the vampire hunters had planned. Dracula's supposed death is riddled with ambiguity'.[47] Since the Count's preferred strategy has always been one of tactical retreat it would be naive to assume that he has not chosen this path in the final showdown; the reader is left with an enigmatic problem as they have been led to expect the complete destruction of this evil creature and the mode of diseased masculinity he represents.

In his last moments, he has 'in his face a look of peace, such as [Mina] never could have imagined might have rested there' (*D*, p. 325). If Dracula has not been dispatched to eternal rest, there is another explanation for his look of peace; he knows that he has succeeded in his dysgenic quest. While the mark on Mina's forehead dissipates as Dracula relinquishes his influence on her, she has fed on blood and copulated with the vampire, and thus, the text suggests, cannot be fully redeemed. This is a direct consequence of the woman being excluded from important discourses and isolated in a condition of enforced silence while men assume full control of her destiny. Sequestered in an ivory tower,

[47] *Dracula*, p. 325, footnote 4.

Mina's silence is infected and both her physical and mental contributions are severely diluted. Inference of how this could impact on society as a whole was chillingly evoked by Stoker. Mixing the sanguine economy with the spermatic economy, there is a strong possibility that young Quincey carries the blood of Dracula in his veins and that the new vampiric race has its primogeniture in him.

This is the final anomaly Stoker leaves for his readers and one which warns them to be forever vigilant against the return of this monstrous version of masculinity. Unless both sexes are educated and constantly aware, heinous infection will find a way to infiltrate society at its most important and vulnerable levels, placing its future in jeopardy. Stoker proposed that men must be strong, healthy and continually alert to danger and women must be similarly strong, educated and resourceful. He saw it as incumbent on both sexes to interact in supportive groups that could use discourse as an exploratory tool which would enable them to overcome the silences that created confusion and misunderstanding. Only with improved understanding of the need to allay infection and corruption, and to improve the purity of mind, body and soul in order to improve the prospects of applied eugenics could Victorians move towards the new century.

CHAPTER III

HOMOSOCIAL SYMBIOSIS

There is a friend that sticketh closer than a brother
Proverbs: Ch.18;V.4.

While Stoker concentrates on an evil, damaged male, he also shows how homosocial bonding can allow men to combat external threats to their masculinity and their social conventions. Conan Doyle explores how a relationship between two men can be similarly supportive, but on a much more personal level where it can reduce or repair damage caused by both internal and external influences. *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines symbiosis as the 'association of two different organisms [...] which live attached to each other, or one as a tenant of the other, and contribute to each other's support. Also more widely, any intimate association of two [...] different organisms.'[1] This definition could have been written to describe the relationship between Sherlock Holmes and Dr John Watson who, as co-tenants of 221B Baker Street, live attached to each other emotionally for the larger part of their lives and constantly contribute to each other's support. Their strong homosocial bond gives them an intimate association which allows them each to afford strength where and when it is needed in a manner which is conscious of manly conventions. In 1866, Ruskin, in an attempt to separate genius and degeneracy, said, 'there are sick men - and whole men; and there are Bad men and Good'. However, Dellamora suggests that, for Ruskin, the terms were still confused, but Conan Doyle, in the late

[1] http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50245036/50245036se2?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=symbiotic&first=1&max_to_show=10&hilite=50245036se2 (Accessed on 31/05/2011)

1880s, attempted to redefine these ideas.[2] In an endeavour to reconstruct damaged and confused masculinity, Conan Doyle presented his readership with an anomaly in these two 'good' men who are not, however, 'whole'. It is only when they come together in a symbiotic relationship that they balance each other's deficiencies and fulfil their potential as intrepid Victorian heroes. In Holmes, Conan Doyle created a hero who is seriously flawed. However, he counterbalanced these flaws by setting his characters within a strong, homosocial companionship. That this form of support was important to Victorian men was illustrated, in 1872, by William Chambers in his comments regarding his relationship with his brother:

> mentally, each had a little of the other, but with a wide divergence in matters requisite as a whole. One could not have done well without the other. With mutual help there was mutual strength.[3]

Mutual strength as a tenet of masculinity is underlined by John Tosh's opinion that 'Support and companionship are provided by the silent bonds of male friendship'.[4] As 'masculinity is never fully possessed, but must perpetually be achieved, assured and renegotiated', the 'mutual help' and 'mutual strength' men afforded each other was imperative to these negotiations.[5] This idea informs the symbiotic relationship between Holmes and Watson. Furthermore, the heroes' exploits are set mainly within easily recognisable English geographical locations which, in turn, provide reference points that made Holmes and Watson's exploits more realistic and relevant to a Victorian readership

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[2] As quoted in, Richard Dellamora, *Masculine Desire: The Sexual Politics of Victorian Aestheticism*, p. 122. (Ruskin wrote this in a letter to Algernon Swinburn which can be found in Cecil Y. Lang, ed., *The Swinburn Letters*, 6 Volumes (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), Vol. 1, p. 185.)
Dellamora, *Masculine Desire: The Sexual Politics of Victorian Aestheticism*, p. 122.

[3] William Chambers, *Memoir of Robert Chambers with Autobiographical Reminiscences of William Chambers* (Edinburgh and London: W. & R. Chambers, 1872), p. 235, as quoted in Barsham, *Conan Doyle and the Meaning of Masculinity*, p. 35.

[4] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 174.

[5] Michael Roper and John Tosh, Eds., *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800*, p. 18.

than those of a dashing, swashbuckling hero, such as Lord John Roxton, in an exotic foreign setting.[6] Oscar Wilde argued that

> as a method realism is a complete failure, and the two things that every artist should avoid are modernity of form and modernity of subject-matter. To us who live in the nineteenth century, any century is a suitable subject for art except our own. The only beautiful things are the things that do not concern us.[7]

However, the popularity of the Holmes canon disproves this theory as its contemporary appeal was that the reader could relate to the 'realism' of the modern 'subject matter' the heroes' adventures address. Conan Doyle's tales also relate to another of Wilde's stipulations as he wrote 'delightful fiction in the form of fact' where everydayness allowed the performance of manliness to more effectively highlight and challenge *fin-de-siècle* expectations.[8] By placing his heroes within familiar settings and balancing 'qualities which were radically gendered as masculine in Victorian culture: observation, factuality, logic, comradeship, daring and pluck', with the psychological shortcomings which carry the potential to render these attributes impotent, Conan Doyle was able to address contentious issues.[9] The stability of the recognisable qualities which offered comfort to his *fin-de-siècle* readers allowed Conan Doyle to probe the instabilities his characters negotiate to remain manly. It is June Thomson's opinion that:

> Watson may indeed not glitter quite as brightly as Holmes but nevertheless there is a warm, steady glow about him which was to illuminate their friendship as much as Holmes' more pyrotechnic brilliance. Without it, it is doubtful if their relationship would have survived intact for all those years.[10]

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[6] Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Lost World* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008). (Lord John Roxton is an aristocratic adventurer who has the finances to travel the world seeking manly excitement and danger. He is held in heroic regard by the other characters.)
[7] Oscar Wilde, 'The Decay of Lying' in *The Collected Works of Oscar Wilde* (London: Wordsworth, 2007), p. 943.
[8] Wilde, 'The Decay of Lying', p. 923.
[9] Joseph A. Kestner, *Sherlock's Men: Masculinity, Conan Doyle, and Cultural History*, p. 2.
[10] June Thomson, *Holmes and Watson: A Study in Friendship* (London: Constable, 1995), p. 25.

Differences of character, which accentuate their reliance on one another, inform the enjoyment factor of the stories as realistic and lead to the outstanding popularity of the sleuthing partnership both within its own time and continuously since then.

Conan Doyle was very particular in portraying the shortcomings of both characters to his reader in order to suggest that, individually, they were at risk of marginalisation that might cause them to become isolated and voiceless members of society. In order to appreciate the importance of the bond they form, it is imperative that Conan Doyle evince the individual social and psychological conditions that define both men as inept around the time of their meeting. On an individual basis, both Holmes and Watson are social and psychological misfits. John H. Watson M.D. introduces himself to his readers at the beginning of *A Study in Scarlet* and it is from here that the roots of his mental and physical infirmities are explained.[11] Watson, as a surgeon in the second Afghan war, is removed from the comradeship of his own regiment and 'attached to the Berkshires' during the 'fatal battle of Maiwand' (*SS*, p. 11). The word 'attached' suggests that he is an appendage and therefore not an integrated member of this micro society thus placing him on the margins lacking both friends and support. This would be exacerbated by the strain of his extraordinary job; work for a doctor on the front line in Victorian times was a thoroughly gruesome business. Conan Doyle himself was to serve in a similar capacity during the Boer war and Catherine Wynne recounts a report from Mortimer Menpes, an artist who went to South Africa to interview Conan Doyle about his war service.[12] Menpes records:

> Dr Conan Doyle did not seem to lack energy. I never saw a man throw himself into duty so thoroughly heart-and-soul. "And are

[11] Conan Doyle, *A Study in Scarlet* in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 11.
[12] Catherine Wynne, 'Sherlock Holmes and the Problems of War: Traumatic Detections', *English Literature in Translation 1880-1920*. Vol. 53, No.1. (2010), p. 29.

> you writing a book of your experiences out here as a doctor?" I asked. "How can I? What time have I to think of it? You have no idea what a tremendous amount of work we have to do! In the midst of all this agony I couldn't settle to literary work. For instance, look at this inferno!" As he spoke he threw open the door of one of the principal wards, and what I saw baffles description. The only thing I can like it to is a slaughter-house. I have seen dreadful sights in my life, but I have never seen anything quite equal to this – the place was saturated with enteric fever and patients were swarming in at such a rate that it was impossible to attend to them all.[13]

Even though these occurrences relate to more than a decade after *A Study in Scarlet*, Conan Doyle's experiences highlight the stresses and strains of being a war surgeon and help to evoke the horrors of the scenario he set for his character. Watson's delicate state on his return to England is therefore informed by the severe strain of being a front-line surgeon. While serving in Afghanistan and prior to writing his journal, Watson himself has succumbed to an enteric fever outbreak; in addition, the realities of the burden he bore in trying to save large numbers of wounded soldiers pouring into the field hospital during battles have left unresolved mental scars which are implied in the text, although not fully elucidated by Conan Doyle. The horrors of warfare were multiplied exponentially by the 'swarming' number of men injured, mutilated or killed and Watson would have had daily proof of the realities of this. Over a period of time, the resultant strain and responsibility of dealing with vast casualties in primitive conditions could have unsettled even the strongest men. At the Battle of Maiwand 'the British lost 934 men killed and 175 wounded or missing, nearly half the total force', so the field surgeon's job would have been a taxing one.[14] Rudyard Kipling explores this problem in 'The Tender Achilles' which, although it relates to World War One, describes the horrors that attended a wartime operating theatre:

[13] Catherine Wynne, 'Sherlock Holmes and the Problems of War: Traumatic Detection', p. 29.
[14] June Thomson, *Holmes and Watson: A study in Friendship*, p. 50.

> when you are at the Front, you are either doing nothing or trying to do ten times more than you can. When you *are*, you store up impressions for future use. When you *aren't*, they develop. Either way, God help you![15]

Watson would likely have followed this type of pattern; the rounds of activity and inactivity allowing past scenarios and horrors to play on the doctor's mind during his periods of rest. It is not unreasonable that a caring practitioner like Watson, and Wilkie in Kipling's story, would be haunted by the notion that, given better circumstances, they could have saved more men. This mental trauma, combined with long periods of physical exhaustion, would certainly have jangled the nerves of strong men and affected their ability to maintain a manly performance. In Wilkie's case the 'Hell's hoop-la was too much' for him and this outcome could be transposed to Watson as he tells Holmes his 'nerves are shaken and [he] get[s] up at all sorts of ungodly hours' (*S.S.* p. 14).[16] Discussing signs of neurosis after World War I, Elaine Showalter quotes Philip Gibbs writing at the end of the war: '[soldiers] had not come back the same men. Something had altered them. They were subject to queer moods and queer tempers' and this echoes how Watson sees himself on his return from Afghanistan.[17] Watson, however, is fortunate that he recognises the dangers of remaining alone with his thoughts and feelings.

Watson admits to being 'weak from the prolonged hardships which [he] had undergone' repeatedly having to face the horrors of sole responsibility for life-balancing decisions, while struggling to remain brave and manly; this would inevitably have put the most stalwart of constitutions under stress (*SS*, p. 11). The conditions in which they

[15] Rudyard Kipling, 'The Tender Achilles' in *Limits and Renewals* (London: Macmillan, 1932), p. 352. (All future reference will be to this edition.)
[16] Kipling, 'The Tender Achilles' p. 355.
[17] Philip Gibbs in Eric Leeds, *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 187 as quoted in Elaine Showalter, *Hystories: Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Culture* (London: Picador, 1997), p. 73.

worked would have aggravated problems exponentially. Again, reference to Kipling's story illuminates the odium which encompassed Watson's experiences:

> The actual setting? [...] Oh! They take a couple of E.P. tents and join 'em together, and floor 'em with tarpaulins that have a been in use....your anaesthetist gets his dope and pads ready; your nurses and orderlies stand by with the cutlery and the odds and ends, and you're ready for visitors. They've been tagged and labelled by some poor devil up under fire – I've been him, too! – and the Receiving Officer sends in the ones that look as if they have the best chance. [...] Then your job begins. You've got to make up your mind what you are going to do, as soon as your man is on the table, because the others are waiting [...] You have to explore and act on your own judgment – one down, t'other come on – till you drop. [...] The longest stretch I ever put in was three and a half days, four hours sleep each night [...] Fifteen Minutes! My God! Fifteen minutes per capita! [...] And when you've dropped in your boots, not dead, but dead *and* buried, someone starts waggling your foot [...] and whisperin' to you to wake up and have a stab at some poor devil who has been warmed and slept off his shock, and there's just a chance for him. Then you dig yourself up and carry on if you can.[18]

This is a grim picture of the game of life and death war surgeons had to play on a regular basis and indeed, for the conscientious doctor, this hardship would be exacerbated by being ever on call with the hope of saving any life where the smallest glimmer of hope existed. Kipling's Keede and Scree talk to each other about their exploits and in doing so seem to reach a supportive realisation that they are not alone in their experiences. In his introduction to the Penguin edition of *Limits and Renewals*, Phillip Mallett proposes that

> 'the 'frame' in which [this] tale is set is offered as an image of the normal conditions of man's life, represented here by male conversation about the reality to be found in work, and by the evaluation of others in terms of their capacity to work.'[19]

[18] Kipling, 'The Tender Achilles, pp. 352-354.
[19] Phillip Mallett, ed. in Rudyard Kipling, *Limits and Renewals* (Middlesex: Penguin Classics, 1987), p. 12.

At this time of crisis, the signifiers which 'grant [men] acceptance into the realms of manhood' changed, but this required recognition.[20] By sharing their views, Keede and Scree are fulfilling their need to have 'other men [...] grant [them their] manhood.[21] Having thus validated their performance using this support mechanism, they understand that, while challenged, their manliness responds appropriately to the extreme situation. The homosocial support thus becomes vital to gain further validation that they remain manly in the eyes of others. Their colleague, Wilkie, removed from comradeship by his mother, is thus isolated and succumbs to what we now recognise as post-traumatic stress disorder: 'the darkness of soul which covered, and which covers still, so many – the doubt – the defiance – the living damnation'.[22] Similarly Watson, having been separated from his own regiment and placed amongst strangers, has no one with whom to share his experiences. Both these detachments signify a sundering of the close brotherly bonds so important in maintaining manly performance in the process of war and condemn the men to lone silent doubts and fears. Confidence in his manly ability to cope could be further undermined as it is likely Watson was the 'poor devil up under fire' who 'tagged and labelled' the wounded when he was 'struck on the shoulder by a Jezail bullet' (*SS*, p. 11). When combined with his dose of enteric fever just as he was recovering from the bullet incident, Conan Doyle uses these experiences to give Watson 'nothing but misfortune and disaster'. He is returned to England 'with [his] health irretrievably ruined' and his ability to perform as a fully-functioning male in question (both *SS*, p. 11). With 'neither kith nor kin in England', Watson leads a 'comfortless, meaningless existence' as a 'lonely man', although one determined to improve his lot rather than sink into misery and ignominy in 'that great cesspool' of the city of London (*SS*, p. 11). The saving grace of his manly standing is his introduction to the equally friendless Holmes by an old school acquaintance; it is the bond

[20] Kimmel, *The Gender of Desire: Essays on Male Sexuality*, p. 33.
[21] Kimmel, *The Gender of Desire: Essays on Male Sexuality*, p. 33.
[22] Kipling, 'The miracle of St Jubanus' in *Limits and Renewals*, p. 326.

he forms with Sherlock Holmes that rescues Watson from solitary silence and gives a clear measurability to his masculinity.

Just before meeting Holmes, Watson intuits the gap between what Michael Kaufmann refers to as his 'biological maleness and [his] masculinity', and recognises how hard it is to 'untangle the person [he] might want to become [...] from the person [he] actually is.'[23] To facilitate this, Watson seeks companionship, as he would 'prefer having a partner to being alone'; Watson, unlike the condemned Wilkie, discerns man's need for companionship to create an equilibrium between the inner and the outer man and thus seeks a companion.

On Watson's first discovery of Holmes, it becomes evident that he is also a withdrawn character who shares a lack of equilibrium in his masculine performance. Stamford paints an intriguing picture of Holmes as 'a little queer in his ideas [...] a decent fellow [...] a first-class chemist [whose] studies are very desultory and eccentric' and that 'he is not a man that it is easy to draw out, though he can be communicative enough when the fancy seizes him' (all *SS*, p. 12). Piecing together the snippets regarding Holmes, the reader can see Conan Doyle begin to define him as a very particular type of man: rather out of the ordinary in that others notice his oddities as 'cold-bloodedness' (*SS*, p. 12). Watson, however, is drawn by the description, seeing positive points that suit his needs:

> I should like to meet him [...] if I am to lodge with anyone, I should prefer a man of studious and quiet habits. I am not strong enough yet to stand much noise or excitement. I had enough of both in Afghanistan to last me for the remainder of my natural existence.
>
> *SS*, p. 12.

[23] Kaufman, in Kimmel and Messner, eds., *Men's Lives,* p. 7.

Paradoxically, what Watson does get from the rest of his life with Holmes is noise and excitement, but this is contained within an organised structure of a home life and within an English setting. It also carries the protection of his symbiotic bond with Holmes where, unlike Watson's wartime exploits, they can discuss events within their friendship in a way that supports the needs of both men and validates their performance of masculinity. Additionally, it is always possible for Watson to refuse, or to withdraw from, situations which are mostly within their control; there is no compulsion to participate. Moreover, he uses the cathartic process of recapping and gathering his thoughts through the practice of recording their adventures and effectively eradicates the threat that silence once posed to his masculinity. In doing this, Watson's actions suggest that 'men [...] require strenuous norms of manhood to sustain themselves in a perpetual struggle against regression.'[24] By becoming the diarist of their adventures, Watson is able to define 'what it means to be a man in [his] culture by setting [his] definitions in opposition to a set of others'.[25] Willing participation in these adventures, allows Watson to tests the boundaries of his manliness by venturing into danger, but within parameters that offer support; in these masculine activities he can control his nerves, confident in the homosocial bond he has formed with Holmes.

It is interesting that, at the outset of this companionship, both men enumerate their faults to each other, as 'it's just as well for two fellows to know the worst of one another before they begin to live together' (S.S., p. 14). Their worst traits all relate to mental imbalances, rather than physical; Conan Doyle thus indicates that men had deeper problems than those which were immediately visible. Externally, both Holmes and Watson appear strong and masculine, attributes which would recommend them to their clients.

[24] James Eli Adams, 'The Banality of Transgression? Recent Works on Masculinity', *Victorian Studies* 26 (Winter 1993), p. 210.
[25] Kimmel, *The Gender of Desire: Essays on Male Sexuality*, p. 25.

However psychologically, while Holmes admits to being moody, Watson confesses a number of faults suggesting that he is the more introspective of the pair. This signals the balance between the active and passive roles in the ensuing partnership; Holmes's brain is trained to make synaptic leaps in a particular manner while Watson takes time to digest and ponder upon matters. Holmes, with a strong sense of purpose, is 'very careful indeed as to what he takes into his brain-attic. He will have nothing but the tools which may help him in doing his work [...] and all in the most perfect order' (*SS*, p. 15). Watson, on the other hand, has little sense of purpose after leaving the army in such a fragile state. He reminded his readers:

> how objectless was my life, and how little there was to engage my attention. My health forbade me from venturing out unless the weather was exceptionally genial, and I had no friends who would call upon me and break the monotony of my daily existence.
>
> *SS*, p. 15.

He is at risk of succumbing to the traits of a languishing female invalid and it is imperative for him to find a more manly role. Since he had previously quoted Pope's '"the proper study of mankind is man"' to Stamford in relation to his interest in his prospective new room-mate, it is not surprising that 'under these circumstances [he] eagerly hailed the little mystery which hung around [his] companion, and spent much of [his] time in trying to unravel it' (both *SS*, p. 15). This simple piece of personal detection work forms the basis of the task that restores purpose to Watson's life and saves him from himself as he becomes the chronicler of this extraordinary relationship.

During the first meeting of the heroes, Conan Doyle lays the foundations of Sherlock Holmes's eccentricities and his 'passion for definite and exact knowledge' (*SS*, p.

12). His pride in the new discovery of 'the Sherlock Holmes test' for the precipitation of haemoglobin in blood stains goes against the grain of the normally-reserved Victorian male who, conventionally, would have displayed modesty in relation to his professional abilities. Conan Doyle himself showed humility when he admitted that 'with amazement I found that my writing had been accepted'.[26] He did not, however, bestow this trait on his hero: while following the explanation of his discovery, Holmes's 'eyes fairly glittered as he spoke, and he put his hand over his heart and bowed as if to some applauding crowd conjured up by his imagination' (*SS*, p. 13). Conan Doyle balances Holmes's extraordinary pride as much of his excitement in this modern scientific test comes from its potential regarding the conviction of criminals. Holmes's eccentricities are always counterpoised with his focus on the benefits his methods can produce. Conan Doyle displays clear awareness of crafting a hero who continually employs his unconventionality with an overriding concern for indisputable justice. That Holmes enjoys the balance of results and praise is perhaps best seen in 'The Six Napoleons' where, after he discloses the hiding place of the missing pearl,

> Lestrade and [Watson] sat silent for a moment, and then, with a spontaneous impulse, [they] both broke out clapping as at the well-wrought crisis of a play. A flush of colour sprang to Holmes's pale cheeks, and he bowed to [them] like the master dramatist who receives the homage of his audience. It was at such moments that for an instant he ceased to be a reasoning machine, and betrayed his human love for admiration and applause. The same singularly proud and reserved nature which turned away with disdain from popular notoriety was capable of being moved to its depths by spontaneous wonder and praise from a friend.[27]

[26] Conan Doyle, 'Juvenilia' in Jerome K. Jerome, ed., *My First Book* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1897), p. 103.
[27] Conan Doyle, 'The Six Napoleons' in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 668.

The source of the accolade is of prime importance: public recognition cannot comprehend the complexities of the syllogisms, so when Lestrade adds the praise of the entire force of Scotland Yard, Watson relays Holmes's response:

> 'Thank you!' said Holmes. 'Thank you!' and as he turned away it seemed to me that he was more nearly moved by the softer human emotions than I had ever seen him.
>
> 'Six Napoleons', p. 669.

Accordingly, Holmes is positioned not simply as one who seeks recognition, but as one who appreciates the level and source of the recognition in defining his role as a manly force against evil. Holmes's boast that 'I know well that I have it in me to make my name famous' may, however, have come to naught without his 'Boswell' (*SS*, p. 18 & 'Scandal', p. 120).[28] It is Watson's tales of their exploits that bring wider recognition of the intricacies and possibilities inherent in Holmes's methods. A mutual comprehension of this sets the symbiosis of their companionship, removes the threat of ignominious silence and positions their manly exploits in the public sphere – both fictitiously and in actuality.

What Sherlock Holmes does contribute to critical discourse, however, is the fact that Conan Doyle fashions him as a new type of man in a very particular manner by consciously choosing the technical and societal attributes Holmes will pursue and those he will discard. At a time when New Women were attempting to redefine the traditional roles society had prescribed for them, the creation of Holmes opened the possibility for men to aspire to a similar redefinition in response to the challenges of an approaching new century. Conan Doyle, in his hero, blends carefully sifted scientific knowledge with a disregard for social conventions he considers unnecessary, and adds an unmatched, edgy

[28] Conan Doyle, 'A Scandal in Bohemia' in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 120.

urban manliness that is a completely new innovation. Holmes tells Watson 'I suppose I am the only one in the world. I'm a consulting detective' and his whole life is dedicated to this individuality and his craft (*SS*, p. 17). In doing this, Conan Doyle supports

> a patriarchal culture [which] prized the eternal self-vigilance necessary for the cultivation of personal, rational, bodily self-control, as the key to manliness, moral worth and material and social success.[29]

Conan Doyle, however, adds a new edginess to this traditional role as, while fulfilling the prized criteria, he introduces an element of unpredictability which gains Holmes supremacy over both criminals and the police, thus rendering him unique. Even in 1963, in the wake of many literary detectives, Kissane and Kissane refer to Holmes as 'the master detective [...] whose supremacy among the breed finds no serious challenge', emphasising that this uniqueness persists into modern times.[30] However, Holmes's character also answered contemporary social dilemmas: Anne Neill states that 'the detective's extraordinary powers of ratiocination, his skill at interpreting evidence, and his ability to empty his memory of superfluous cultural knowledge so as to retain only a perfectly ordered collection of facts provide an antidotal influence to the aimlessness and excessiveness of [...the] *fin de siècle*.'[31] Holmes's lifestyle and his ability to apply syllogisms in order to solve the quandaries of both his clients and the police, stem from the singularity with which he envisions his specific educational needs. While many New Woman authors were campaigning for changes in education of women and girls, Conan Doyle suggests male education would also benefit from more focus on the future path a

[29] S. Szreter, 'Victorian Britain, 1831-1963: Towards a Social History of Sexuality', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 1 (Spring, 1996) as quoted in Barsham, *Conan Doyle and the Meaning of Masculinty*, p. 19.
[30] James Kissane and John M. Kissane, 'Sherlock Holmes and the Ritual of Reason', *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (March, 1963), p. 353.
[31] Anne Neill, 'The Savage Genius of Sherlock Holmes', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, Vol. 37, Issue 2 (September, 2009), p. 611.

man would take in order to be of full benefit to society, develop the skills to become an independent entity and resist social and hereditary corruption.

As 'the detective must be able to "read" the narrative of the crime that the criminal has written and then "write" the narrative of how the crime was committed along with its solution and resolution', it is imperative that Holmes engender a set of specific skills which would enable this.[32] Holmes elucidates to his friend: 'I am a brain, Watson. The rest of me is just a mere appendix', but it is Watson who defines the connection between this statement, the detective's practical skills and the effect it has on his life and character ('Mazarin Stone', p. 970). [33] When narrating 'The Adventure of the Blanched Soldier', Holmes admits that Watson, 'by cunning questions and ejaculations of wonder [...] could elevate my simple art, which is but systemised common sense, into a prodigy' ('Blanched Soldier', p. 1082).[34] Watson, as biographer of 'the man whom above all others [he] revere[s]', is particular in how he performs this task:

> I am faced with so many [cases] which present strange and interesting features that it is no easy matter to know which to choose and which to leave. Some, however, have already gained publicity [...], and others have not offered a field for those peculiar qualities which my friend possessed in so high a degree, and which it is the object of these papers to illustrate.
>
> 'Thor Bridge', p. 982 & 'Orange Pips', p. 175. [35]

He is very aware of his position of trust in the recounting of these tales and is scrupulous in the information he discloses for in his 'position of partner and confidant [he is] obliged

[32] S.E. Sweeney, 'Locked Rooms: Detective Fiction, Narrative Theory, and Self-Reflexivity' in Ronald G. Walker and June M. Frazer, eds., *The Cunning Craft: Original Essays on Detective Fiction and Contemporary Literary Theory* (Illinois: Western Illinois University, 1990), pp. 6-11.
[33] Conan Doyle, 'The Adventure of the Mazarin Stone', in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 976.
[34] Conan Doyle, 'The Adventure of the Blanched Soldier', in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 963.
[35] Conan Doyle, 'The Problem of Thor Bridge', and 'The Five Orange Pips', in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 981 & p. 175.

to be particularly careful to avoid any indiscretion' ('Three Garridebs', p. 1027).[36] It is important for both parties that a balance is maintained between the publication of the stories, the continuation of their homosocial relationship and the support of their manly performance towards righting wrongs. Watson points out, on numerous occasions, that he has Holmes's permission to relate these tales and is thus enabled to add weight and responsibility to his purpose. In this way, Conan Doyle allows a unique insight into aspects and nuances of Sherlock Holmes's masculine performance that would otherwise have remained a mystery. Watson utilises the canon by 'picking out examples which shall in every way answer [his] purpose' as he 'endeavour[s] to illustrate a few of the mental peculiarities of [his] friend' (Resident Patient', p. 388).[37] Conan Doyle exploits Watson's viewpoint to promote Holmes's oddities as essential attributes of his genius, success and masculinity.

Holmes's careful brain training, however, could risk creating an imbalance in the overall life pattern a man would be expected to follow. When not applied to its honed purpose, Holmes's 'mind is like a racing engine, tearing itself to pieces because it is not connected up with the work for which it was built' ('Wisteria', p. 745).[38] There are numerous occasions where Conan Doyle creates periods of mental and physical lethargy which endanger the detective and warn his readership of the harm that could ensue as a result of an idle brain. An answer to the balance of this problem for *fin-de-siècle* men in general, lay in a mixture of cerebral and physical activity. Male oriented publications of the time showed a desire to promote the equilibrium of mind and body. Magazines such as

[36] Conan Doyle, 'The Adventure of the Three Garridebs', in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 1027.
[37] Conan Doyle, 'The Resident Patient', in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 388.
[38] Conan Doyle, 'The Adventure of Wisteria Lodge', in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 745. (I have used the more common title for this story, however, in the original *Strand Magazine*, this tale is entitled 'A Reminiscence of Sherlock Holmes: 1. – The Singular Experience of Mr John Scott Eccles'.)

The Strand, in which the majority of Holmes stories appeared, and *The Idler*, to which Conan Doyle was also a regular contributor, contained selections of articles ranging through stories with a social lesson; literary criticism; scientific innovations; healthy pursuits; interviews with public figures; stories of inspirational heroes and military tales.[39] Charles Press states that *The Strand* was filled 'with material that would appeal to a middle-class audience, especially to the rising professional class of doctors, solicitors, writers, actors, architects, journalists, and others who had advanced training, but whose careers didn't require an Oxford degree', and it is clear from its accessible stories that it was predominantly a middle-brow, male-orientated publication. [40]

Through his companionship with Watson, Holmes experiences many of the pursuits condoned by contemporary publications which, in a solitary state, he might not have participated in. As comrades they enjoy such pastimes as 'evening rambles'; Wagner at Covent Garden; eating out at 'Simpsons'; visiting the Turkish baths; whiling away 'bleak autumnal evenings' enjoying Holmes's violin playing and going on holiday together.[41] The main antidote for boredom, however, is a new form of urban adventuring that sees the heroes often risking their lives to find solutions to cases, allowing Conan Doyle to highlight insidious dangers within urban and suburban settings. Male *fin-de-*

[39] A selection of these can be found in, amongst others, *The Strand Magazine*, Vol. II, July to December1891 (London: Unwin, 1891). Also in *The Idler Magazine*, Vol. VI, August, 1894 to January, 1895 (London: Chatto and Windus, 1895).

[40] Charles Press, 'Sherlock Holmes Meets *The Strand Magazine'*, *The Baker Street Journal*. Maynard: Vol. 59, Issue 2 (Summer 2009), p. 12.

[41] Examples of these can be found in, among others: 'Charles Augustus Milverton' in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes,* p. 645; 'The Adventure of the Red Circle' in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes, p.* 799; 'The Adventure of the Dying Detective' in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes,* p. 827; 'The Disappearance of Lady Francis Carfax' in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes,* p. 815; 'The Noble Batchelor', in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes,* p. 243; 'Black Peter' in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes,* p. 631; 'The Adventure of the Devil's Foot' in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes,* p. 783 & 'The Final Problem' in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes,* p. 435.

siècle authors such as Rider Haggard, Stevenson, Stoker and Kipling, were concerned with portraying manliness in the form of the adventuring hero. Conan Doyle, while imparting a serious message, parodies this in *The Lost World* when Gladys, declining Ned's proposal, explains her dream of the ideal man:

> above all, he must be a man who could do, who could act, who would look Death in the face and have no fear of him, a man of great deeds and strange experiences.[42]

While Ned, being single and unattached, can afford the wherewithal to join the expedition to search for the lost world of Professor Challenger, pioneering opportunities such as this were becoming less frequent. Gentlemen with businesses to attend to were less able to afford the time and expense of setting off on a long and dangerous mission and were thus responsive to the reinvention of the manly adventurer within an urban setting. This provided an ideal that late Victorians could relate more readily to and, with a leap of their imagination, possibly aspire to. Although Watson's initial idea is to retire to a quiet life that would be kind to his nerves, this is not what ensues; a passive, broken man would not have provided the reading public with a suitably-enterprising manly role model.

Conan Doyle shows how precarious it could be to maintain the position of a role model in the early stories. In the creation of his new, edgy urban male, Conan Doyle indicates to his readership that it was not going to be a simple task to change attitudes and habits that had been followed by middle and upper-class patriarchy. To effectively isolate one's mode of masculinity from the traditional norms involved an individuality that answered the needs of the moment, but risked upsetting the equilibrium of life. Thus,

[42] Conan Doyle, *The Lost World*, p. 3.

Holmes resorts to stimulants in an attempt to escape from inactivity. When scolded by Watson for taking 'a seven-per-cent solution' of cocaine', Holmes reasons that lack of work would cause more damage to his equilibrium than the drug does:

> My mind [...] rebels at stagnation. Give me problems, give me work, give me the most abstruse cryptogram, or the most intricate analysis, and I am in my own proper atmosphere. I can dispense then with artificial stimulants. But I abhor the dull routine of existence. I crave for mental exaltation. That is why I have chosen my own particular profession, or rather created it, for I am the only one in the world.
>
> *Sign of Four*, p. 64.[43]

Holmes thoughts echo those of other *fin-de-siècle* intellectuals; David Daiches describes Kipling's artistic vision as 'an acute awareness of man's essential isolation and an agonising consciousness of the razor edge on which he must balance to sustain his moment of existence.'[44] At a time when reasons for this existence were challenged, these ideas transfer to Conan Doyle's character and emphasise the fine balance Holmes needs to maintain to keep his manliness intact while pursuing the fight for right. This concept of activity as essential for a healthy balanced existence carried particular relevance in the *fin de siècle* which was a time of increasing worry regarding men who followed the same 'routine of existence' to no visible purpose except self-satisfaction. Oscar Wilde's Dorian Gray is an example of how far a man may sink in his desire to chase and secure routine stimulations of an unacceptable kind.[45] The metaphor of the painting as a visible depiction of the shrivelled and damaged soul of the exhilaration-seeking decadent provides a chilling warning of the perils of succumbing to unnatural stimulation. Fortunately, Conan Doyle provides his hero with an antidote in the form of his inimitable companion who 'for years [...] gradually weaned [Holmes] from that drug mania which had threatened once to check

[43] Conan Doyle, *The Sign of Four* in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 64.
[44] David Daiches, *Some Late Victorian Attitudes* (London: André Deutsch, 1969), p. 25.
[45] Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, in *The Collected Works of Oscar Wilde* (London: Wordsworth, 2007).

his remarkable career' (Three Quarters', p. 697). Watson, being a medical man, is under no illusions regarding the power of this addiction; he is realistic about the 'dangerous calm which brought more peril to my friend than all the storms of his tempestuous life'. The doctor 'knew that under ordinary conditions [Holmes] no longer craved for this artificial stimulus, but [...] was well aware that the fiend was not dead, but sleeping' ('Three Quarters', p. 697).[46] Watson is concernedly vigilant over the balance of his friend's life, health and reputation, but is always there to support him regardless of the challenge and danger. Symbiosis in their relationship is highlighted here in Watson's dedication and concern for his friend and, by extension, of the fine line between possible degeneration and Holmes's public image as a heroic masculine crime-fighter who must maintain the respect and trust of his clients. In fighting to control his friend's addiction, Watson is able to show homosocial caring and reinforces his own masculinity while saving that of his friend and underlines Kosofsky Sedgwick's ideas that 'an ultimate bonding between men [...] is not detrimental to "masculinity" but definitive of it'.[47]

Rescued from lethargy and restored to a manly purpose through his relationship with Holmes, Watson becomes as excited by activity and the prospect of the cry 'the game is afoot' as is his companion ('Abbey Grange', p. 711).[48] He depicts the thrill and menace of the chase within what should be the calm of rural England:

> It was a long and melancholy vigil, and yet brought with it some of the thrill which the hunter feels when he lies beside the water pool and waits for the coming of the thirsty beast of prey. What savage creature was it which might steal upon us out of the darkness? Was it a fierce tiger of crime, which should only be taken fighting hard

[46] Conan Doyle, 'The Missing Three Quarters', in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 697.
[47] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire,* p.50.
[48] Conan Doyle, 'The Abbey Grange', in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 711.

> with flashing fang and claw, or would it prove to be some skulking jackal, dangerous only to the weak and unguarded?
>
> 'Black Peter', p. 638.

The metaphorical jungle of rural Sussex emphasises the dangers on the very doorstep of London and reassures the reading public that there are urban manly warriors who will hunt down and obliterate these. When the adventure contains an illegal element, although in the pursuit of the correct outcome, Holmes, protectively, would go alone. In response to this, Watson threatens his friend rather than be left behind:

> 'When do we start?'
> 'You are not coming.'
> 'Then you are not going,' said I. 'I give you my word of honour – and I never broke it in my life – that I will take a cab straight to the police-station and give you away unless you let me share this adventure with you.'
>
> 'Milverton', p. 649.

This insistence, while making Watson appear rather like a petulant spouse, places adventure as symbiotically important to both partners. Holmes's energy while on a case is shown in numerous tales, but the significance of activity to his dynamic manliness is emphasised in 'The Devil's Foot'.[49] On first attaining the scene of the second crime:

> One realised the red-hot energy which underlay Holmes's phlegmatic exterior when one saw the sudden change which came over him from the moment that he entered the fatal apartment. In an instant he was tense and alert, his eyes shining, his face set, his limbs quivering with eager activity. He was out on the lawn, in through the window, round the room, and up into the bedroom, for all the world like a dashing foxhound drawing a cover. In the bedroom he made a rapid cast around and ended by throwing open the window, which appeared to give him some fresh cause for excitement, for he leaned out of it with loud ejaculations of interest

[49] Conan Doyle, 'The Adventure of the Devil's Foot' in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 783.

> and delight. Then he rushed down the stair, out through the open window, threw himself upon his face on the lawn, sprang up into the room once more, all with the energy of the hunter who is at the very heels of his quarry.
>
> 'Devil's Foot', p. 791.

Conan Doyle's rapid syntax, with its plethora of commas combined with the hunting references, shows the frenzied activity of the masterly adventurer whose mind and body perform in speedy synchronicity to read the trail which others cannot see. Although an urbanite with a carefully trained brain, Holmes maintains a high level of healthy physical fitness that allows him to perform the unique rites he displays as part of his professional attentiveness. It was in his portrayal of this dualism that Conan Doyle raised the detective to his unique position among the men of his era. Middle-class professional readers, and by extension their families, would have noted the benefits this balance brought to Holmes's performance as a man who combined cerebral and physical activity as tools of his trade. Conan Doyle thus attempted to promote these, alongside homosocial companionship, as efficacious for healthy masculinity.

The close and symbiotic homosocial bond that holds the adventuring pair together is also critically important in the *fin de siècle* as it illustrates comfortably negotiated parameters within a devoted manly relationship. The two have no qualms about seeking out the other when they feel a need to do so, either for companionship or adventure. Although much of their lives are spent living in their Baker Street apartments, when they live apart Watson is 'seized with a keen desire to see Holmes again' and Holmes either telegraphs Watson to join him or turns up on his doorstep ('Scandal', p. 117; 'Boscombe

Valley', p. 159; 'Stockbroker's Clerk', p. 331).[50] Holmes admits to being 'lost without [his] Boswell' and that 'it makes a considerable difference to [him], having someone with [him] on whom [he] can thoroughly rely', showing he enjoys both the trust that exists between them and the companionship to alleviate his loneliness ('Scandal', p. 120; 'Boscombe Valley', p. 159). In the depth of this friendship there is a genuine, though carefully negotiated, manly affection between the two which is normally signalled by small endearments such as, 'my dear [...]' or by collusion in adventures; the pair are usually careful never to overstep the boundaries acceptable in masculine emotion. However, Holmes exposes his true feelings in his response when Watson is shot by 'Killer Evans':

> I felt a sudden hot sear as if a red-hot iron had been pressed to my thigh. There was a crash as Holmes's pistol came down on the man's head. [...] Then my friend's wiry arms were round me and he was leading me to a chair.
>
> 'You are not hurt, Watson? For God's sake, say that you are not hurt?'
>
> It was worth a wound – it was worth many wounds – to know the depth of loyalty and love which lay behind that cold mask. The clear, hard eyes were dimmed for a moment, and the firm lips were shaking. For the one and only time I caught a glimpse of a great heart as well as of a great brain. All my years of humble but single-minded service culminated in that moment of revelation.
>
> 'It's nothing, Holmes. It's a mere scratch.'
>
> He had ripped up my trousers with his pocket-knife.
>
> 'You are right,' he cried, with an immense sigh of relief. 'It is quite superficial'. His face set like flint as he glared at our prisoner [...] By the Lord, it is as well for you. If you had killed Watson, you would not have got out of this room alive.'
>
> 'Three Garridebs', pp. 1037-1038.

The clear and tender affection between the two men in this incident underpins their symbiotic bond in a way that shows the feminine traits of deep love and caring, but never

[50] Conan Doyle. 'The Boscombe Valley Mystery', and 'The Stockbroker's Clerk', in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*. pp. 159 & 331.

places their masculinity in question. Faced with the prospect of Watson's demise, Holmes is distraught and, in his distressed outburst, rewards his companion in a way neither of them could have expected. Yet, the detective instantly reasserts his manliness by threatening the disarmed criminal. That both men need and love each other is left in no doubt and the reader can comprehend that for them to perform their crime-fighting roles as complete manly individuals this symbiosis is not only acceptable, but essential; 'this closeness between males [...] seems to occur unproblematically within a suasive context of heterosexual socialisation'.[51]

As part of a '"male homosocial continuum"', the relationship between Holmes and Watson is an important one.[52] Their symbiosis is underpinned by 'personal, subjective, engagement in practices, discourses and institutions that lend significance (value, meaning and affect) to the events of the world'.[53] Exposure to a wide magazine readership gives this duo a validity hitherto unknown in literature and their ensuing popularity allows Conan Doyle's ideas to reinforce homosocial doubts to a masculinity in crisis. Attributes of loyalty, companionship and manly support are explored to give confidence to *fin-de-siècle* readers that there are 'whole men [...] and good' who will work together to fight for right and justice. In this way, Conan Doyle's characters portray similar attributes to those of Stoker's 'good' men who use the same skills to the same end in their battle against Dracula. Both writers highlight the importance of homosocial bonding to allow men a level of companionship within which they can confidently explore and evolve their masculinity to answer each situation as it arises. Both authors recognised that in a climate

[51] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, p. 35.
[52] Richard Dellamora, *Masculine Desire: The Sexual Politics of Victorian Athleticism*, p. 193.
[53] Teresa De Laurentis, *Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), p. 159 as quoted in Dellamora, *Masculine Desire: The Sexual Politics of Victorian Athleticism*, p. 218.

where the Woman Question was also questioning men's roles, this was an important resource for men to substantiate their changing positions.

Section 2
Marriage

CHAPTER IV

VICARIOUS SACRIFICE[1]

I care not who might uphold the doctrine of vicarious sacrifice; it is monstrous, it is dastardly, it is damnable![2]

> The man must needs retain for many years to come the personal hegemony he has usurped over the woman; and the woman who once accepts him as lover or husband must give way in the end, even in matters of principle, to his virile self-assertion. She would be less a woman, and he less a man, were any other result possible. Deep down in the very roots of the idea of sex we come on that prime antithesis – the male, active and aggressive; the female, sedentary, passive and receptive.[3]

During the *fin de siècle*, a major part of the Woman Question was concerned with the 'prime antithesis' within marriage. Worries that gender boundaries would blur and virility be diminished by changes in marital roles led a dominant discourse that many New Woman proponents fought to change. Numerous novels portrayed heroines for whom a sedentary life of passivity as a dutiful wife was the path to self-destruction; these New Woman authors investigated the balance between the old, harmful options and new proposals that would permit women more autonomy in deciding their own path. When Evadne Colquhoun refuses to consummate her marriage, she pre-empts the consequences of her husband's libertine past and thus resists sacrificing herself to the horrors inherent in syphilis.[4] Although she is astute enough to know that 'her decision had been a right and wise one', the path through marriage in the *fin de siècle* was littered with difficulties that

[1] Caird, *The Daughters of Danaus*, p. 103.
[2] Caird, *The Daughters of Danaus*, p. 105.
[3] Grant Allen, *The Woman Who Did* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 64.
[4] Grand, *The Heavenly Twins*.

women had only just begun to ascertain (*HT*, p. 337). Evadne later promises Colquhoun that she will 'never mix [her]self up [...] publicly in any question of the day' as 'it would be too deuced ridiculous for [Colquhoun] [...] to have [his] name appearing in the papers in connection with measures of reform, and all that sort of thing' (*HT*, p. 345). In doing this however, she finds herself 'cramped into a narrow groove wherein to struggle would only have been to injure herself ineffectually' (*HT*, p. 349). By backing her heroine into this corner, Grand illustrates how the consequences of this decision maintain the man's 'personal hegemony', send Evadne into steady decline and highlight the vicarious sacrifice that *fin-de-siècle* women made in submitting to silence that was detrimental both to themselves and to society as a whole. Mona Caird's character, Professor Fortesque, considered

> that the supreme business of man, was to evolve a scheme of life on a higher plane, wherein the weak shall not be forced to agonise for the strong, so far as man can intervene to prevent it.[5]

This protectionist ideal to stop women 'agonising' evolved to a state where male intervention attempted to prevent whole distaff lines from almost all independent thoughts or actions. Forced to suppress their own compunctions and replace them with others that gave peace to friends and family who would maintain the *status quo*, women renounced their inner being and submitted to the 'prime antithesis'. As a result of this repression, the Woman Question revolved around the need to allow women the freedom to choose a partner without sacrificing herself to his potentially 'active and aggressive' nature. Grand's heroine chooses to advance social purity by denying herself a fulfilling marriage for the sake of public opinion, but addresses the precept that the Contagious Diseases Acts had chosen to identify women as the source of contagion. Evadne clearly identifies members of

[5] Caird, *The Daughters of Danaus*, p. 102.

the army as spreading, or having the potential to spread, syphilis, but is too aware of the scandalous repercussions should she announce this publicly. By choosing not to do this, she perpetuates the vicarious sacrifice of both herself and her friend, Edith.

This 'prime antithesis' was at the heart of the debate on marriage which raged in the last decade of the nineteenth century. In the light of opinion which had, in the decades preceding, used a mixture of scientific and religious ideas to create the idea of a happy marriage as 'a whole house transplanted entire from earth to heaven, without one failure' led to responsibility being placed on the woman to create this wonder.[6] The mid-century medical ideas discussed in the introduction led to women being seen as clearly the weaker sex, both mentally and physically. Seen as the doyenne of the home, there evolved a state where women's roles were defined by their success in the domestic sphere. By 1852, however, Florence Nightingale questioned 'why women had been given 'passion, intellect, moral activity […] and a place in society where no one of the three can be exercised''.[7] Nightingale was one of many women who campaigned for a change in women's position although the furore surrounding the Contagious Diseases Acts campaign was the cause that united women of different classes to support a general improvement in education and opportunities that would offer alternatives to marriage and subjection to men. Josephine Butler did admit that the campaign became responsible for a 'revolt and rebellion […] against men'.[8] Proponents of the dominant discourse were worried that, with increased freedoms, married women would lose sight of their wifely and motherly duties and extend

[6] Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D*., 9th edn., 2 vols. (London, 1875), I. p. 189 as quoted in Phillip Mallett, 'Women and Marriage in Victorian Society', p. 159.
[7] Florence Nightingale, *Cassandra* as published in Ray Strachey, *The Cause: A Short History of The Women's Movement in Great Britain* (1928) p. 395 as quoted in Mallett, 'Women and Marriage in Victorian Society', p.167.
[8] Josephine Butler, entry in her diary in September 1869 as quoted in Michael Pearson, *The Age of Consent: Victorian Prostitution and its Enemies* (Newton Abbott: David and Charles, 1972), p.58.

their 'sphere' beyond the boundaries of the home. Reverse discourse supporters voiced concerns about the damage restrictions on the 'woman's sphere' would cause, not only to the women themselves, but to their marriages and their offspring.

A lively example of this discourse can be found in Eliza Lynn Linton's articles on 'The Wild Women' and Mona Caird's reply to these.[9] Linton creates a parody of the New Woman figure in an effort to scare and repulse her audience by presenting a character that is anathema to the traditional Victorian picture of sweet womanhood:

> all women are not always lovely, and the wild women never are. As political firebrands and moral insurgents they are specially distasteful, warring as they do against the best traditions, the holiest functions, and the sweetest qualities of their sex. [...] these insurgent wild women are in a sense unnatural. They have not 'bred true'– not according to the general lines on which the normal woman is constructed. There is in them a curious inversion of sex, which does not necessarily appear in body, but is evident enough in the mind.[10]

Linton pronounced the dominant discourse propaganda that any modern, forward-thinking woman was an abomination in the eyes of nature; she would become thus as she was 'not "bred true"' and, being an unnatural creature, would thus taint the blood of any future offspring. Linton's inference was also that others should beware of these 'wild women' as, even if their bodies are not tainted, their minds were. Emerging subaltern counterpublics were beginning to give women a space within which their voices and opinions became part of a germinating public arena which created a sense of unease in traditionalists. The strong, scaremongering tactic displayed by dominant discourse proponents such as Linton,

[9] Eliza Lynn Linton, 'The Wild Women', pp. 455-464, and Caird, 'A Defence of the So-called "Wild Women"', pp. 811-829.
[10] Linton, 'The Wild Women', p. 79.

became all too prevalent at the time. *Punch* was particularly condemnatory of the New Woman. Owen Seaman's spoof of George Egerton's 'A Cross Line' was particularly nasty towards both the author and her ideas. As Lisa Hager points out:

> *Punch*, in choosing this story for the basis of its "She-Notes" parody, cannot avoid acknowledging how difficult it is to contain the female protagonist in this story because she represents the beginning of Egerton's slipping out of the confines of feminine identity. Unsurprisingly for a paper known for its harsh criticism of the New Woman, the parody expresses an obvious distaste for *Keynotes* and Egerton herself, whose transformation into "Borgia Smudgiton" alludes to her besmirching proper Victorian womanhood by smudging its purity.[11]

Whilst criticising Egerton, Seaman's use of the pen-name 'Smudgiton' includes the artist Aubrey Beardsley, whose 'smudges' illustrated this and other short stories, in his condemnation. This, combined with unpleasant innuendo, such as that in the opening to the second part of Seaman's article: 'Lying on her back in a bog-stream', depicts the level of horror and disrespect the dominant discourse was willing to perpetuate.[12] That Caird was seriously offended by views such as these, which left no room for nuances in the extremity of their description, can be seen in her reply to Linton:

> There is, according to Mrs Lynn Linton, no medium between Griselda and a sublimated Frankenstein's monster, which we have all so often heard of and seldom seen. Mrs Lynn Linton's experience, in this respect, appears to have been ghastly. This is greatly to be regretted, for it has induced her to divide women, roughly, into two great classes: the good, beautiful, submissive, charming, noble and wise, on the one hand; and on the other, the bad, ugly, rebellious, ill-mannered, ungenerous, foolish, and liberty-demanding. The "wild women" are like the plain and wicked sisters in a fairy tale, baleful creatures, who go about the

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[11] Lisa Hager, 'A Community of Women: Women's Agency and Sexuality in George Egerton's *Keynotes and Discords', Nineteenth Century Gender Studies*, Issue 2.2 (Summer 2006).
George Egerton, 'A Cross Line' in *Keynotes and Discords* (London: Virago Press, 1983), pp. 1-36.

[12] 'Borgia Smudgiton' [Owen Seaman], 'She Notes, Part II', *Punch or the London Charivari* (Saturday March 17, 1894), P. 129.

> world doing bad deeds, and oppressing innocence as it sits rocking the cradle by the fireside.[13]

Here, Caird highlights the caricatured exaggeration of the New Woman figure which was extensively employed by her opponents in a bid to alarm the general public. Eliza Linton continues in the same accusatory vein, as she lists a large number of crimes perpetuated by the "wild women" that were commensurate with dominant discourse ideas regarding the 'cherish[ed] ideals' of 'the race'.[14] These include such acts as smoking, drinking with men, playing golf, travelling and writing about it, seeking fame and wishing to enter the political arena. By far their worst crime however, was to neglect the two stalwarts of conservative Victorian society:

> Marriage, in its old-fashioned aspect as the union of two lives, they repudiate as a one-sided tyranny; and maternity, for which, after all, women primarily exist, they regard as degradation. [...] the *raison d'être* of a woman is maternity [...] whatever tells against these functions, and reduces either her power or her perfectness, is an offence against nature and a wrong done to society.[15]

Fin-de-siècle perceptions regarding the unique biological status of women informed genuine worries that, with emancipation leading to independence, women would neglect their duties at home in favour of freedom. Therefore, dominant discourses constantly promoted the glories of the 'woman's sphere' within the home and the horrors that would ensue should this sphere be interfered with.[16] The reverse discourse, diametrically opposed to the continuation of this ideal, took pains to explore alternatives.

[13] Caird, 'Wild Women', p. 812.
[14] Linton, 'Wild Women', p. 80.
[15] Linton, 'Wild Women', p. 79-80.
[16] A selection of these opinions can be found in, among others: Linton, 'Women's Place in Nature and Society', p. 349-363; Linton, 'Society – The Remnant', *The Pall Mall Magazine*, 1:5 (Sept 1893), p. 729-736; Stutfield, 'Tommyrotics'; Valerie Sanders, *Eve's Renegades: Victorian Anti-Feminist Women Novelists* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1996).

Caird, along with many other New Woman advocates, was of the opinion that women should not be trapped in a marriage that forced them to deny all other instincts and interests to the detriment of their own development in favour of an unquestioning devotion to their husband and children. She proposed that dominant discourse argument led to the conclusion

> that if there be any force in what is commonly urged respecting Nature's "intentions" with regard to woman, her development as a thinking and emotional being, beyond the point where human qualities are superficially useful to her children, is "unnatural" and false.[17]

There was a clear double standard where men could evolve, but women were to be held in regression by biological constrictions. Caird, conversely, proposed that her readers consider wider possibilities which would break the traditional feminine sphere and add men to the equation:

> Nature, besides designing women to be mothers, designed men to be fathers: why, then, should not the man give up his life to his family in the same wholesale way? "The cases are so different" [...] and the difference lies in the great suffering and risk which fall solely to the share of the mother. Is this a good reason for holding her, for her whole life, to this painful task, for demanding that she allow her tastes and talents to lie idle, and to die a slow and painful death, while the father, to whom parenthood is also indicated by "nature" is allowed the privilege of choosing his own avocations without interference? Further, if woman's functions are to be determined solely by a reference to what is called nature, how, from this point of view, are we to deal with the fact that she possesses a thousand emotional and intellectual attributes that are wholly superfluous to her merely maternal activities?[18]

Caird is vociferous in her cry for change that would address, to some extent, the inequality of child rearing and alter the *laissez-faire* attitude of Victorian fathers towards their young

[17] Caird, 'Wild Women', p. 818.
[18] Caird, 'Wild Women', p. 818.

offspring. John Tosh gives an instance of changes which were taking place within the domestic sphere with the example of Henry Ashbee who married his wife, Elizabeth, in 1862.[19] The course of this couple's marriage indicates how misplaced patriarchal complacency was, but also underlines that women were not content to maintain the *status quo*. On his thirteenth wedding anniversary, Ashbee wrote 'my wedding day, thirteen years married, do not think it possible for any man to have a better wife, or nicer children, am perfectly happy.' Despite his complacency, as Ashbee failed to respond to changing times, his marriage gradually disintegrated. Tosh says that

> Despite his affectionate disposition, Henry was rigid and intolerant of dissent within the family. While these characteristics remained unmellowed by advancing age, the rest of the family were sensitive to the new thinking on social and aesthetic issues.[20]

Due to his patriarchal attitudes, Ashbee became estranged from his family; his Cambridge-educated son in 1866 and his wife in 1893. As she developed an interest in art and education, she ended her husband's control of her with a formal separation, this being her only feasible legal option at the time. Inequality in the Matrimonial Causes Act were not removed from divorce law until 1923; prior to that women 'had to prove adultery aggravated by desertion (for a period of two years), or by cruelty, rape, incest, sodomy or bestiality'.[21] As this was not the case where a couple became incompatible, separation was a woman's only option. Most New Woman advocates did not seek an end to marriage and children, but did see a need to redress the balance somewhat. More equality of tasks was needed to inform child rearing, open alternative possibilities for women and to re-engage

[19] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, p. 161.
[20] Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, p. 161.
[21] Mallett, 'Women and Marriage in Victorian Society', pp. 176-177.

fathers with the microcosm of family life in order to encourage a less rigid male approach to familial duties.

Caird's novel, *The Daughters of Danaus,* explores the premise of a strong, intelligent woman who submits to the 'prime antithesis' in her marriage to a man with a tenuous grasp on reality. The heroine, Hadria, and her siblings watch their mother's talents and personality being sacrificed to the rearing of her children, the support she affords her rather inept husband, and the demands of her limited social circle. Debating fate with the interestingly named 'Preposterous Society', formed by the Fullerton children to encourage frank discussions of contemporary issues, Hadria discourses on characters of strength:

> relaxed and derivative people are living on the strength of the strong. He who is strong must carry with him, as a perpetual burden, a mass of such pensioners, who are scared and shocked at his rude individuality; if he should trip or stumble, if he should lose his way in the untrodden paths, in seeking new truth and a broader foundation for the lives of men, then a chorus of censure goes up from millions of little throats.
>
> *DD,* p. 9.

Hadria's speech depicts the struggle and resistance even a strong woman would have faced were she to attempt change and that there were many who would rejoice in her failure. The crux of Hadria's argument is 'a subtle relation between character and conditions' which explains why some could have achieved genius while it slips by others. When Ernest takes the male view that opportunities can be seized, Fred, echoing both sides of the New Woman discourse, points out that Ernest 'make[s] the thing absolute; Hadria makes it a matter of relation' (*DD,* p. 10). The futility of this battle for women is driven home in Hadria's rebuttal of her brother's masculine overconfidence on the matter:

> You have an easier cause to champion [...] for all your evidences can be pointed to and counted; whereas mine, poor things – pale hypothesis, nameless peradventures – lie in forgotten churchyards – unthought of, unthanked, untrumpeted, and all their tragedy is lost in the everlasting silence.
>
> *DD*, p. 13.

The poignancy of this statement accentuates the collateral damage that was inherent within the prevailing gender imbalance. To have maintained the *status quo* would have condemned women to live and die in 'everlasting silence' as a result of the perpetual lack of opportunity for them to voice their dissent in a wider social context.

This everlasting silence and mental imprisonment of women was a phenomenon experienced by women across the world as subaltern counterpublics began to form in other countries with authors who shared the concerns of their English counterparts. Charlotte Perkins Gilman explores the issues in the extended metaphor of 'The Yellow Wallpaper'.[22] Shut away from the world in an attic room, the protagonist of the story has nothing to occupy her mind but the hideous wallpaper of her prison which represents the 'phallogocentric architecture' of the structure of man's power over women.[23] While she has a husband who is, by his standards, caring, she herself believes that 'congenial work, with excitement and change would do [her] good', but, trapped alone with her fears and fancies, 'she becomes a figure of contagion, which is coded in the increasingly unstable boundary between herself and the other women (*YW*, p. 32).[24] The suffering of generations of female children and women before her is inferred:

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[22] Charlotte Perkins Gilman, 'The Yellow Wallpaper'.
[23] Niles Tomlinson, 'Creeping in the "Mere": Catagenesis in Poe's "Black Cat" and Gilman's "Yellow Wallpaper"', in *E.S.Q.*, V.56 (3rd Quarter, 2010), p. 238.
[24] Tomlinson, 'Creeping in the "Mere": Catagenesis in Poe's "Black Cat" and Gilman's "Yellow Wallpaper"', p. 243.

> they must have had perseverance as well as hatred. [...] the floor is scratched and gouged and splintered, the plaster itself is dug out here and there
>
> *YW*, p. 36.

Capturing the image of centuries of futile frustration, this quotation resonates with the sad echo of Hadria's 'poor things', but within Gilman's concept there is an alarming physical reminder of the toll of the silent, isolated women who struggled for release from their traditional constraints. Women's battle to survive the scrutiny of society while living within the unwelcome and stifling confines of marital existence is portrayed in the confusion between the inner and outer self of society's victim:

> I can see a strange, provoking, formless sort of figure, that seems to skulk about behind that silly and conspicuous front design...I get positively angry with the impertinence of it and the everlastingness. Up and down and sideways they crawl, and those absurd, unblinking eyes are everywhere.
>
> *YW*, pp. 35 & 34.

This chilling metaphor drives home the pointless performance enacted within women's proscribed sphere which denied them the wherewithal to access a brighter future. Angelique Richardson's discussion of the short story form points out that

> the rise of the short story and birth of psychoanalysis coincided; both are underpinned by a fascination with the workings, the knowing, and unknowability, of the mind. [...] they suggest moods, emotions, situations rather than narratives.[25]

Gilman's lack of narrative as she concentrates on portraying the moods and emotions of her imprisoned character's mind, signals the trapped figure as part of a continuum of oppressed victims of the 'wallpaper bars' as it underlines their interminable futility.[26] The metaphor of entombing wallpaper stresses the prison-like restrictions women experienced

[25] Richardson, *Women Who Did*, p. lxviii.
[26] Richardson, *Women Who Did*, p. lxx.

trapped within a limited domestic sphere: it appears benign at first glance, but deeper investigation reveals the pointless, stifling existence from which escape was impossible.

Small amounts of light, however, produced a response and realisation for women, both individually and collectively, who noticed and accentuated the contrast between public performance and private vexation:

> At night in any kind of light, in twilight, candlelight, lamplight, and worst of all by moonlight, it [the yellow wallpaper] becomes bars! The outside pattern I mean, and the woman behind it is as plain as can be. I didn't realise for a long time what the thing was that showed behind, that dim sub-pattern, but now I am quite sure it is a woman. [...] Sometimes I think there are a great many women behind, and sometimes only one, and she crawls around fast, and her crawling shakes it all over. Then in the very bright spots she keeps still, and in the very shady spots she just takes hold of the bars and shakes them hard. And she is all the time trying to climb through. But nobody could climb through that pattern – it strangles so [...] They get through, and then the pattern strangles them off and turns them upside down, and makes their eyes white.
>
> *YW*, pp. 41,43 & 44.

This powerful metaphoric description of women brought together in sisterhood, especially during their monthly cycle controlled by the moon, and hidden from the scrutiny of men, alerts the reader to the dawning awareness of the subversive contest between waking performed reality and night fancies: between culture and nature. The will to break through the barriers is strong, but the conflict or clash between the need to conform to social acceptability and the requisite for individuality affect the mind so drastically that it turns inward on itself. As Richardson observes, 'The world of dreams, of fantasy, opens up as a space for the expression of female desire, uninhibited by literary and social propriety. It

also provides a space for expression of desire unfulfilled, of opportunity missed.'[27] Perkins Gilman provides a literary analysis of dreams quashed and utilises the space for 'expression of desire unfulfilled' highlighting the debilitating struggle women experienced in attempting to overcome seemingly insurmountable barriers. Mona Caird's Hadria also emphasises the sacrifice women have made to bring about change:

> She [Hadria] recalled a strange and grotesque vision, or waking dream, [...] of a vast abyss, black and silent, which had to be filled up to the top with the bodies of women, hurled down to the depths of the pit of darkness, in order that the survivors might, at last, walk over in safety. Human bodies take but little room, and the abyss seemed to swallow them, as some greedy animal its prey. But Hadria knew, in her dream, that osme day it would have claimed its last victim, and the surface would be level and solid, so that people would come and go, scarcely remembering that beneath their feet was once a chasm into which throbbing lives had to descend, to darkness and a living death.
>
> *DD*, p. 451.

Caird's metaphor correlates with Perkins Gilman's women who crawl over and around each other in the constant struggle for release from the societal bars that drove them to darkness. Fight as she may, every hurdle put in women's way was one constructed by man so that she had 'to creep over him every time'; it was impossible for her to follow a path to emancipation and a healthy future as long as incarcerating masculine attitudes impeded her enlightenment (*YW*, p. 47). The history of the madwoman in the attic thus perpetuates itself.

The New Woman, despite sometimes feeling she had to constantly crawl over him, did not want man completely out of the way, however. What she proposed was an end to

[27] Richardson, *Women Who Did*, p. lxxi.

the old forms of patriarchy and 'the personal hegemony [man] had usurp[ed] over the woman' both of which led to women being downtrodden within marriage.[28] Increasing numbers of New Woman authors from various English-speaking nations demanded a restructuring of masculine roles that would allow wives space and time for expansion within their marriages and lead to a more equal partnership where both parties could be supportive, healthy, happy and enjoy more loving relationships. The elusiveness of these relationships was the crux of New Woman proposals. However, it was made virtually impossible by the continued vagaries of the marriage market where, through lack of viable options, women were virtually compelled to sell themselves to the highest bidder in the hope of a secure and happy future. New Woman writers explored cause and effect surrounding marital bonds in an attempt to overturn this pernicious patriarchal practice. Ella Hepworth Dixon's character, Mary Erle, after love's first kiss, experiences conflicting emotions:

> something held her against her will. The demands of the flesh clamoured louder than those of the spirit […] In that one supreme moment, Mary Erle tasted for the first time, in all its intensity, the helplessness of woman, the inborn feeling of subjection to a stronger will, inherited through generations of submissive female intelligence.[29]

Dixon did, however, allow her character to be the stronger will as, able to earn a living for herself, Mary chooses to use her intelligence for her own betterment and remain unmarried. As a younger woman, on her recovery from typhoid fever, Mary rediscovers 'Life, glorious, sunshiny, palpating Life. She wanted to know it, to seize it, to make sure that she had lived.' Combining this experience with the helpless submissiveness of waiting in vain as her proposed fiancé abandons her for the call of a rich wife, she elects to remain

[28] Allen, *The Woman Who Did*, p. 64.
[29] Dixon, *The Story of a Modern Woman*, p. 79.

her own person preferring the struggle of work to sacrificing herself once more to the pain of betrayal instigated by marriage market economics.[30] While Dixon affords her character the choice of an independent future, she makes it clear that years of hardship and angst resulted from the decision. If this was the case of a woman trained to independent thought, how much more daunting would rebellion against marriage market practices have been for the average girl with no feasible alternative?

Mary was fortunate in her ability to choose, as the lack of options open to the majority of women kept them trapped within the confines of the marriage market. Choices that would offer them autonomy were very difficult to access. Although universities had begun to open up to female students, it was hard to obtain places or funding and it was still not generally viewed as a respectable alternative to marriage. Sisters Louisa and Bella Macdonald were considered to have brought shame on their family when they graduated from University College, London in the 1880s, according to their brother William. [31] As head of the family he had refused to provide them with financial help even for senior schooling and the girls struggled to acquire their learning by whatever means necessary. Not all women were as resourceful as the Macdonald sisters who shared sibling determination: Louisa became the first Principal of the women's college at Sydney University and Bella graduated as a doctor.[32] Most women were trapped within the confines of traditional familial expectations and would not have contemplated bringing shame on their families in this way. Faced with no other option, they had to succumb to the indignities of being exhibited for sale; society girls were acutely aware of the need for a

[30] Dixon, *The Story of a Modern Woman,* p. 42.
[31] Jane Robinson, *Bluestockings: The Remarkable Story of the First Women to Fight for an Education*, p. 93.
[32] Robinson, *Bluestockings: The Remarkable Story of the First Women to Fight for an Education*, p. 93.

good marriage. Marie Corelli's character, Lady Sibyl Elton, on Geoffrey Tempest's proposal, tells him

> I was always intended for this […] to be the property of a rich man. Many men have looked at me with a view to purchase, but they could not pay the price my father demanded […] what I say is quite true and quite commonplace, - all the women of the upper classes, - the unmarried ones, - are for sale now in England as utterly as the Circassian girls in a barbarian slave-market.[33]

Corelli's analogy with ancient slave-markets expressed the depth of her disapproval regarding the practice of parading young girls at society functions. In Lady Sibyl, Corelli highlights the dangers of corruption and misery for young women who, with no other path open to them, were forced to make the best marriage possible – in many cases to save their family from ignominy.

Some of the strongest censures against the *fin-de-siècle* marriage market were aired by Marie Corelli. Unusual, even for her time, in that she supported both her father and her brother on the proceeds of her writing, Corelli was a vociferous opponent of women being bartered in this way. In her pamphlet, *The Modern Marriage Market,* Corelli wrote 'in England women […] are not today married, but bought for a price. The high and noble intention of marriage is entirely lost sight of in the scheming, the bargaining and the pricing.'[34] She illustrates this opinion further in *The Sorrows of Satan* during the negotiations regarding the marriage of Lady Sibyl and Geoffrey Tempest, the hero of the piece. Confident in the power of his wealth, Geoffrey describes Sybil as 'the woman [...] who I was now disposed to consider as an object of beauty lawfully open to my purchase'

[33] Corelli, *The Sorrows of Satan,* pp. 200-201.
[34] Marie Corelli, Flora Annie Steel, Lady Jeune and Susan, Countess of Malmesbury, *The Modern Marriage Market*, p. 20.

(*Sorrows*, p. 132). On realisation of the deeper consequences of this system, he later soliloquises:

> The heaven of a woman's love, tried and proved true through disaster and difficulty, - of her unflinching faithfulness and devotion in days of toil and bitter anguish, - of her heroic self-abnegation, sweetness and courage through the darkest hours of doubt and disappointment; - this bright and splendid side of woman's character is reserved by Divine ordinance for the poor man. The millionaire can indeed wed whomsoever he pleases among all the beauties of the world, - he can deck his wife in gorgeous apparel, load her with jewels and look upon her in all the radiance of her richly adorned loveliness as one may look upon a perfect statue or matchless picture, - but he can never reach the deeper secrets of her soul or probe the wellsprings of her finer nature.
>
> *Sorrows*, p. 147.

Notwithstanding this, the egotism of money and power binds him to the masculine sins perpetrated by this system. He realises too late that the excitement and power of purchase within the marriage market has blinded him to the true purpose of marriage. Only retrospectively does he recognise the fact that he forgot the promised glories of a love match as he succumbs to more basic male emotions:

> I was too elated with the pride of wealth to count the possibilities of subtle losses amid so many solid gains; and I enjoyed to the full and with a somewhat contemptuous malice the humble prostration of a 'belted Earl' before the dazzling mine of practically unlimited cash as presented to him in the persons of my brilliant companion and myself.
>
> Both *Sorrows*, p. 147.

Geoffrey is so completely in the thrall of Satan that he becomes victim to the power of his money and position. He participates in the marriage market in such a way that his humanity all but deserts him. His 'contemptuous malice' for the unfortunate Earl displays the lowly predicament of a once-proud aristocratic heritage, but also illustrates the ease with which Geoffrey has become distanced from his own previous penurious existence.

With Geoffrey's train of thought, Corelli fictionalises her own opinions that the marriage market played to

> the loose theories of the "smart" set, and the moral degradation of those who have no greater God than self

and she warns that,

> "imaginary" Love [...] must hold fast to its ideal or be content to perish on the plane of sensual passion, which exhausts itself rapidly, and once dead, is dead for ever and aye.[35]

She reinforces this in the clarity of Sybil's reply to Geoffrey's proposal:

> I believe that, thanks to newspapers, magazines and 'decadent' novels, I am in all respects eminently fitted to be a wife! [...] There is nothing in the role of marriage that I do not know, though I am not yet twenty. I have been prepared for a long time to be sold to the highest bidder, and what few silly notions I had about love, - the love of the poets and idealists, [...] is all dispersed and ended. Ideal love is dead, - and worse than dead, being out of fashion. Carefully instructed as I have been in the worthlessness of everything but money, you can scarcely be surprised at my speaking of myself as an object of sale. Marriage for me is a sale, as far as my father is concerned, for you know well enough that however much you loved me or I loved you, he would never allow me to marry you if you were not rich, and richer than most men. I want you to feel that I fully recognise the nature of the bargain struck; and ask you not to expect a girl's fresh, confiding love from a woman as warped in heart and mind as I am!
>
> *Sorrows*, p. 204.

There is a pathos in this speech that allows the reader an insight into the futility of Sybil's existence and her pragmatic, distorted view of herself and her future. Like many non-fictional women over time, she is the malformed product of parenting based on accumulation of wealth within a perverted society. Lord Elton is penniless as a result of

[35] Corelli, *Free Opinions Freely Expressed* (London: Constable & Co., 1905), p. 165.

overindulgence throughout his life and, as a result of her pact with the Devil, Sibyl's mother lies trapped inside her gruesome, warped, disintegrating shell, displaying outwardly the realistic representation of her true inner corruption. Sybil's *blasé* realism does not serve her once she does find the man she imagines to be her true love as it is Lucio Rimânez, the devil himself. Mrs Mannington Caffyn, who published under the pen-name Iota, wrote 'that the best thing in the whole wide world is to be natural, and the highest and the most desired, after the love of God, is the true love of man for woman'.[36] Since Sybil is a morally-deformed construct of society she cannot aspire to any of these 'best things' and, in betraying her husband to worship the devil, she becomes anathema to any society and even Satan must reject her:

> Such a love as yours! – what is it? Degradation to whoever shall accept it, - shame to whoever shall rely upon it!
>
> *Sorrows*, p. 363.

Corelli's premise in *The Sorrows of Satan*, is that for every soul on earth who rejects the Devil, as Mavis Claire, the New Woman writer, has the previous night, he gains one hour in Paradise in his former angelic role as 'Lucifer, Son of the Morning' with the hope that if enough humans reject him he can enjoy Heaven once more (*Sorrows*, p. 63). Sibyl, as a creature created by the insidious vagaries of the marriage market, and who has sold her soul to ensure the best bargain for herself, causes him more sorrow:

> O pitiless Heaven! – to think of it! – but a night ago I was lifted a step nearer to my lost delight! – and now this woman drags me back, and down! – and yet again I hear the barring of the gates of Paradise! O infinite torture! O wicked souls of men and women! – is there no touch of grace or thought of God left in you! – and will ye make my sorrows eternal!
>
> *Sorrows*, p. 363.

[36] Mrs. Mannington Caffrey, 'The Coming Girl Will Be Nice', *The Idler*, Vol. VI. (August, 1894 to January, 1895) (London: Chatto and Windus, 1895), p. 198.

The continual corruption caused by marriage market practices produced confused, dissatisfied women who, Corelli proposes, repulse even the Devil himself. While Corelli may sound 'preachy' and overly melodramatic to a modern audience it was exactly the kind of thing that her readers loved about her books. She was very much in tune with prevailing discourses, the wrongs of society and what she saw as the path back to right through the teachings of Christ. *The Sorrows of Satan* was taken to heart by a priest, Father Ignatius, who not only wrote to Corelli praising her novel, but who used the book as part of a sermon he gave in London on 19th April, 1896:

> Of late years, [...] the Divinity of Christ had been constantly called into question, to be arrogantly doubted and rejected, and the servants of the Lord have cried unto him and been unheard. Then, all at once, like a clap of thunder, Marie Corelli's book, *Sorrows of Satan*, bursts onto us. [...] Yes, Marie Corelli is doing more for the faith than Archbishops and Bishops and convocations put together. [...] I say there are thousands upon thousands throughout English-speaking Christendom who will bless the pages that Marie Corelli has penned. [...] Where did the courage come from that made this woman so bold that the Personality of God, the Divinity of Christ, the sanctity of marriage, and the necessity of religious education should spring from her pen? Let all our clergy have a copy of *The Sorrows of Satan* on their library tables. [37]

The hall where this sermon took place was absolutely packed with people standing and even spilling out onto the street, so strongly did Corelli's balance of desire for change and adherence to religious teachings resonate with her *fin-de-siècle* readers.

Corelli's popularity repudiated claims, such as those of Eliza Lynn Linton, that would have maintained the *status quo*, that would have seen marriage simply in 'the old-fashioned aspect as the union of two lives' and did not 'give undue weight to the blatant

[37] Bertha Vyver, *Memoirs of Marie Corelli* (London: Alston Rivers Ltd., 1930), p. 139.

and empty-headed crew who announce[d] marriage to be a failure [...] that women [were] tired of, and [would] no longer submit to'.[38] Rather, Corelli examines the horrors of the old system and proposes a way forward. The hyperbole of Sibyl Elton's behaviour leaves this damaged figure with no possible future except to commit suicide and condemn herself to an eternity of damnation and torment in Hell: Sibyl's suicide note is a chilling testament to the horrors, shared by many other women, of a wasted, confused life. Corelli's woman of the future, Mavis Claire, possesses a strong Christian belief and is an educated, independent novelist who has, within herself, the wherewithal to resist both the demands of the marriage market and the temptations of the devil himself. Despite the rather pompous parallels with her own life, Corelli thus attempts to address the concerns of both the dominant and reverse *fin-de-siècle* discourses. As a respected figure who is upheld as the future of womanhood, Mavis holds the promise of an equal partnership in a loving and successful marriage and goes some way to fulfilling the desire that

> [woman] has raised the relation between man and herself from a mere contract of sensuality or convenience to a spiritual sacrament within whose limits the purest and most exalted of human emotions find play.[39]

However, while Elizabeth Bisland would place the struggle to attain this position solely on the shoulders of the woman, Corelli highlights weaknesses, such as Geoffrey's, which had become inherent in the individual male and sees the problem as one perpetrated by patriarchal society. She proposes that changes needed to take place at the basic levels of a culture that had become complacent and corrupted by traditions which were detrimental to both sexes, their possible offspring and their future.

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[38] Elizabeth Bisland, 'The Modern Woman and Marriage', *North American Review*, 160 (1895: January/June) p. 754.
[39] Bisland, 'The Modern Woman and Marriage', p. 754.

To protect the future, these changes needed to provide a solution to the 'prime antithesis' so that women would no longer have to sacrifice aspects of themselves, but would be enabled to follow the call of their inner being with respect and love accorded to their positions and opinions. They would no longer find that they were backed into corners in order to placate others, but would feel confident enough to debate moral principles surrounding the married state and refuse to sacrifice themselves to a limited sphere of home-making and child-rearing. For New Women writers, it was time that the 'strange, provoking, formless sort of figure' behind the wallpaper ceased to be imprisoned by the perpetration of a marriage market that allowed little or no alternatives for both sexes. In order for a husband to 'probe the deeper secrets of [his wife's] soul' and to 'probe the wellsprings of her finer nature' he had to begin to see the possibilities offered in a loving partnership with a wife who was free to chart her own path within their union. New Women wanted an end to the inherent moral degradation within an outdated system which pandered to the needs of a patriarchal society and to be given the ability to move towards a time when women would be able to climb through the male-created bars and step into the light of an equal union.

CHAPTER V

THE SEARCH FOR MARITAL EQUILIBRIUM

> ***A true marriage is not a mere temporary arrangement, and although a young couple are said to be married as soon as the lady has changed her name, the truth is that the real marriage is a long slow intergrowth, like that of two trees planted [...] close together in the forest.***[1]

The New Woman's calls for a rethink of entrenched practices regarding marital relationships posed many anomalous gender conundrums for *fin-de-siècle* Victorians; in *Dracula*, Bram Stoker probed various possible adjustments to these problems through the characters of his young lovers, Jonathan and Mina Harker. Throughout the novel, the balance of their relationship is in constant flux and both underpins and drives the action forward; Stoker thus indicates to readers that all society's actions and decisions pivoted on maintaining an equilibrium between the sexes. The journey of Jonathan Harker and Mina Murray to becoming the confident and comfortable Mr and Mrs Harker is beset with numerous dangers, not least of these being the strictures imposed by expectations of gender performance. Stoker's couple's frequent transgressions into alternate gender modes continue to give a clear indication of the blurring of boundaries that surrounded gender in the *fin de siècle*. Stoker, however, seems relatively at ease with these changes, as do his characters; Jonathan's hysterics and Mina's education and personal freedoms are treated as acceptable behaviour by both characters and author. Male hysteria is responded to with

[1] Philip Gilbert Hamerton, *The Intellectual Life*, (1873), p. 286, at www.gutenberg.org/files/32151/32151-h/32151-h.htm (accessed on 2/1/14).

manly stoicism, and Mina's role in the novel depends on the range of New Woman skills she has attained. Stoker uses this couple to present a limited case for the new position of women within marriage and culture, and to define how male traditions could benefit from the support this new potential would provide in a familial group.

Jonathan Harker, at the start of the novel, appears secure in both his Englishness and his masculinity. Although he is 'leaving the West and entering the East', he seems unperturbed by the changes and more interested in remaining punctual in his travels while collecting recipes for Mina (*D*, p. 9). He has a 'smattering of German' and has made the effort to visit the 'British Museum' to acquire some 'foreknowledge of the country' (*D*, pp. 9-10). This Harker poses quite a different model of Victorian masculinity from that posed in Stoker's original opening chapters, part of which were later published by his widow as the short story 'Dracula's Guest'.[2] There is no sign of the pomposity which marked the original Harker, thus indicating that Stoker seriously rethought the model of masculinity he wished his hero to perform. Increased mobility among the social classes within the fin de siècle signalled a need for moderation of male pretentiousness as the ability to become a member of the ruling classes ceased to be merely a privilege of birth.[3] Previously clear-cut lines between the trading classes, the new, and often wealthy, white-collar professions and the aristocrat became increasingly blurred and this led to a desire among the rising classes to educate their sons in schools traditionally seen as accessible only to the aristocracy.

[2] Bram Stoker, *Dracula's Guest and Other Weird Stories* (London: Penguin, 2006). (Florence Stoker refers to this, in her introduction to the book, as 'an hitherto unpublished episode from *Dracula*'.)

[3] The following explanations draw on, among others, J.A. Mangen and James Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987); Andrew Smith, *Victorian Demons: Medicine, Masculinity and the Gothic at the Fin de Siècle*; Mona Caird, *The Morality of Marriage*; Samuel Smiles, *Self Help with Illustrations of Character, Conduct and Perseverance*; W.H. Davenport Adams, *The Boy Makes the Man: A Book of Example and Encouragement for the Young*; *Boy's Own Paper* (London: The Religious Tract Society), (various issues); Jack Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!* (Surrey: Lutterworth Press, 1982).

Young boys were no longer expected to enter school with an inherent sense of nobility and thus, education had to change to encompass the fluctuating clientele. In the decades leading up to the eighteen-nineties, there was a move from expectations of stoic abstinence and self-control in boys as a matter of protocol, to providing them with strong public figures as role models they could aspire to emulate. Books and magazines, aimed at both grown men and young boys, published stories of heroic figures whose admirable qualities highlighted aspects of character and conduct such as diligence, perseverance, energy, courage, honesty, integrity, self-respect and politeness. These were seen as attributes which would allow a young man to follow a successful path in life, enable him to resist temptations and distractions along the way and fulfil his learned role as an English gentleman. Stoker's awareness of this change can be clearly seen in the distinction between the initial Harker and the final version. Where the Harker of the draft chapter is reduced to an extreme abjection as he is hoisted with the petard of his blinkered attitudes, the Harker of the novel is a far softer character who is more at ease with his own position; he is the product of his age - a man using the tools he has garnered in his youth to make his way in the world.

Similarly, Harker's attitudes to women are equally modern. The reader received an early introduction to Jonathan's relationship with Mina Murray through his small asides collecting recipes for her and making notes to 'refresh [his] memory when [he] talk[s] over [his] travels with Mina' (*D*, p. 10). It is these small caring notions which endear the diarist to his audience who are presented with a young man who obviously cares enough for his fiancée to wish to include her in all aspects of his life, even in the smallest details. In her book '*Marriage*', Mona Caird recommends Philip Gilbert Hamerton's contemporary viewpoint on the efficacies of sharing interests with a life partner:

> If the reader has ever had a travelling companion, some person totally unsuited to his nature, and quite unable to enter into the ideas that chiefly interest him; unable to see even the things that he sees, and always ready to treat negligently or contemptuously the thoughts and preferences that are most of his own; he will have some faint conception of what it must be to find oneself tied to an unsuitable companion for the tedious journey of this mortal life; and if, on the other hand, he has ever enjoyed the pleasure of wandering through a country that interested him, along with a friend who could understand his interest and share it, and whose society enhanced the charm of every prospect and banished dullness from the dreariest inns, he may, in some poor and imperfect degree, realise the happiness of those who have chosen the life companion wisely.[4]

It is clear from his journal, that Jonathan's assumption is that Mina, as an enlightened woman, has a shared interest in all he does. While Caird and Hamerton endorsed a view of marriage that relied heavily on an educated and more adventurous model of womanhood, there is an expectation that Mina would need to collect recipes to fulfil her role as an enthusiastic wife; Alice King wrote that *fin-de-siècle* women

> need to know something of housekeeping; it is a branch of knowledge which cannot be left out of any woman's daily life unless under the most peculiar circumstances, and which, therefore, no girl's education can be complete without.[5]

Mina does go on to be faced with 'most peculiar circumstances' which are not in the repertoire of the traditional Victorian housewife. Stoker disputes the status quo of the Victorian marriage market with his creation of the exceptional trials which challenged and

[4] Caird, *The Morality of Marriage, and Other Essays On the Status and Destiny of Women*, p. 119. (Caird quotes from Philip Gilbert Hamerton, *Human Intercourse*, (1884), p. 44, at http://www.gutenberg.org/files/43359/43359-h/43359-h.htm (accessed on 2/1/14).)

[5] Alice King, 'Higher Thoughts on Housekeeping' in *Girl's Own Paper*, Issue 211 (Saturday, January 12th, 1884), p. 236.

changed Mina and Jonathan's relationship from those of traditional gender expectations to one where trust and assured confidence in each other formed the basis of their bond.

This bond is strengthened as Jonathan Harker is presented as an evolution of the traditional Victorian adventurer who leaves home to recklessly seek danger as did the Harker of 'Dracula's Guest'. Stoker creates a more responsible form of masculinity in the form of this educated, newly-qualified solicitor performing his duty and enjoying the learning experience of a new culture. Harker's recorded thoughts on his travels gave an insight into the form his relationship with his future wife will take. Stoker gives his readers an endearing paradox between the modern man open to the concept of shared interests within marriage, who would fit the mould recommended by Hamerton, and the conscientious business man aware of the responsibility his superior placed upon him. Jonathan attempts to balance both roles; he constantly recalls little details relating to Mina while keeping the focal point of his journey in view. Even hints of oddness indicated by the hoteliers in Buda-Pesth do not detract him from his purpose:

> It was all very ridiculous, but I did not feel comfortable. However, there was business to be done, and I could allow nothing to interfere with it.
>
> *D*, p. 13.

Stoker enforces manly attributes of self-control, diligence and integrity recommended in literature of his age to allow his character to assume the demeanour of a gentlemanly professional, and maintain his awareness of the English *penchant* for decorum. When the landlady offers Jonathan a crucifix as protection he hesitates:

> I did not know what to do, for, as an English Churchman, I have been taught to regard such things as in some measure idolatrous,

> and yet it seemed so ungracious to refuse an old lady meaning so well and in such a state of mind.
>
> *D*, p. 13.

His social class and good manners compel him to humour the old lady's superstitions, but Stoker uses this to introduce the juxtapositioning of Harker's own world with the one he is entering and places *Dracula* in the realms of the fantastic:

> These moments of refusal identify *Dracula* as an instance of Todorov's transhistorical genre "the fantastic". What distinguishes this genre [...] is the prolonged period of "hesitation" undergone by the character (and by extension, the reader) who witness the incursion of supernaturalism into a natural world.[6]

This hesitation allows Stoker's reader to be aware that occurrences were about to challenge the defining factors that bind Jonathan's 'natural world' and that his masculinity will be placed under threat. Stoker further alerts his reader to the Gothic supernatural elements in his misquote from poet Gottfried Burger's 'Lenore': 'for the dead travel fast', which he combines with Dracula's 'gleaming smile' to suggest a member of an unknown realm abducting a victim from the land of the living (*D*, p. 17).[7] Unable to interpret these warnings, Jonathan's performance represents that of a sensible Englishman who does not pander to superstition readily. Stoker sets Harker's manliness in this way to enable his reader to fully engage with the Gothic device of hesitation, to place emphasis on the effects the horrors the castle will wreak on the hero and thus, by extension, to anticipate the horrors that awaited English society should the predatory fiend, Dracula, be allowed to unleash his powers there.

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[6] Kate Hurley, *The Gothic Body: Sexuality, Materialism and Degeneration at the Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 15.

[7] Gottfried August Burger, *Lenore*, at http://www.artofeurope.com/burger/burg1.htm (Accessed 24/01/2011). The original quote is, 'We and the dead travel fast thro' the night'.

The full horror that Dracula could inflict on Victorian manliness is made graphically clear in the way he reduces Jonathan to an hysterical wreck. Having carefully constructed Harker's masculinity through at least two known attempts, Stoker delineates how Dracula slowly unravels the strands which hold that masculinity together. Michael Kaufman states that, 'our personalities and sexuality, our needs and fears, our strengths and weaknesses, our selves are created – not simply learned – through our lived reality.'[8] By isolating Harker from his reality, Stoker underlines the fragility of the social construction of masculinity and the dangers which beset it. From the absence of the Count's reflection in the mirror and his 'demonic fury' at the sight of Harker's blood, to the 'lizard'-like climb down the walls of the castle, Jonathan's hold on actuality begins to seep away:

> What manner of man is this, or what manner of creature in the semblance of man? I feel the dread of this horrible place overpowering me; I am in fear – in awful fear – and there is no escape for me; I am encompassed about with terrors I dare not think of
>
> *D*, pp. 31 & 39.

Harker is in the moment of suspension where his manliness resists what these terrors may reduce him to. This is reinforced by Todorov's fantastic theories:

> Which brings us to the very heart of the fantastic. In a world which is indeed our world, the one we know, a world without devils, sylphides or vampires, there occurs an event which cannot be explained by the laws of this same familiar world. The person who experiences the event must opt for one of two possible solutions: either he is a victim of the illusion of the senses, or of a product of the imagination – and the laws of the world remain as they are; or else the event has indeed taken place, it is an integral part of reality – but then the reality is controlled by laws unknown to us. Either the devil is an illusion, an imaginary being; or he really exists,

[8] Kuafman, 'The Construction of Masculinity and the Triad of Men's Violence' in Kimmel and Messner, *Men's Lives*, p. 5-6.

> precisely like other living beings – with this reservation, that we encounter him infrequently.[9]

Unfortunately, Jonathan has encountered him, but struggles to make sense of events that are out-with all the believable laws that have governed his life so far; it is his attempts to adhere to these laws that increase his inner turmoil. Stoker poses this as a parody of Victorian society and emphasises the intransigence of dominant discourse views which suspended beliefs that proposed changes could become reality. Hugh Stutfield was of the opinion that, 'ours may be an age of progress, but it is progress which, if left unchecked, will land us in hospital or the lunatic asylum.'[10] Stoker creates the alternative threat of evil incursion that men and women together need the wherewithal to overcome. Harker begins to accept that the dominant principles of Victorian Britain, as his life experience has so far shown, may be threatened by his encounters with monstrous masculinity in this strange land. He arrives at the realisation that 'reality is controlled by laws unknown to [him]' and thus acknowledges 'the incursion of supernaturalism into [his] natural world', and that there has occurred 'an event which cannot be explained by the laws of this same familiar world'. Harker's 'familiar world' is irrevocably changed and Stoker shows that Victorian society needed to make a similar leap in its thinking patterns to stave off the dangers which threatened to destroy their future.

However, Stoker allows that it was not an easy matter to change embedded stalwarts of culture and, while Harker utilises the strength of familiar Victorian counterbalances of God and Shakespeare, it is in the task of diary writing that he finds true solace; in common with Conan Doyle's Watson, Jonathan finds retrospective writing

[9] Tzvetan Todorov, *The Fantastic* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 25.
[10] Hugh Stutfield, 'Tommyrotics', *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. CLVII (June 1895), p. 833.

fortifies his manliness by allowing him to clarify his thought processes and attempt to make sense of the 'laws unknown to him' that govern this new environment. In this way, he retains enough courage to defy the Count's warnings and sleep in the room that gives him a sense of comfort as he imagines a bygone marriage scenario

> of old ladies [who] had sat and sung and lived sweet lives whilst their gentle breasts were sad for their menfolk away in the midst of remorseless wars.
>
> *D*, p. 41.

His hold on reality slips as he envisions impersonating these ladies lying on the couch wistfully gazing out over the view. This act of feminising himself signifies to the reader that Harker, despite his attempts at stoicism, is about to lose control of his manliness altogether. Paradoxically, the three young women, who appear by their initial performance to epitomise the ladies of his imagination, turn out to be female vampires. As the horror unfolds before Jonathan, the reader is presented with what Hurley calls

> the becoming abhuman of the human subject, with abhumanness theorised in the registers of bodily, subjective, and sexual identity. But the genre [*fin-de-siècle* Gothic] is profoundly ambivalent towards its own object of obsession. As a result, it works to develop narrative strategies which enable a simultaneous engagement with and revulsion from its topic – strategies whereby to multiply and aggravate instances of abhumanness, but also to occlude them.[11]

Ambivalence is obvious in Jonathan's attitude towards the women; he feels desire and revulsion simultaneously; the vampires are of recognisable human shape, but are preternaturally lewd in behaviour. Kate Hurley's theories of abhumanness further illuminate the position of the female vampires:

[11] Hurley, *The Gothic Body: Sexuality, Materialism and Degeneration at the Fin de Siècle*, p. 14.

> The abhuman subject is a not-quite-human subject, characterised by its morphic variability, continually in danger of becoming not-itself, becoming other. The prefix "ab-" signals a movement away from a site or condition, and thus a loss. But a movement away from is also a movement towards – towards a site or condition as yet unspecified – and thus entails both a threat and a promise.[12]

This morphic variablility can equally be applied to *fin-de-siècle* woman: to avoid becoming completely abhuman necessitated a move away from past behaviour and towards a new condition of promise; if the New Woman could not accomplish this, she would suffer the fate of these female abominations. Again, Stoker highlights the anomaly of social change regarding the Woman Question and marriage; for many Victorians there were concurrent feelings of desire and revulsion in the premise of an intellectual woman who may lose touch with her feminine roots as a result of realising new horizons. It is the vampire women's abhumanness which draws attention to the internal strife of necessary self-interest created by their ignominious position. Grand describes this phenomena:

> the self-interested do not see life as a whole, but in little sections, each little section being in relation to their own selves, and not to humanity at large; and they suffer for their narrowness in that the course they pursue does not result in the happiness they anticipated.[13]

The supernatural element surrounding the female vampires allows readers to excuse Harker's 'wicked, burning desire that they would kiss me with those red lips' (*D*, p. 42). Gender inversion posed a serious threat to accepted relationship roles in the possibility that women may have attempted to seduce their male victims with 'a deliberate voluptuousness that was both thrilling and repulsive' (*D*, p. 42). Overturning the traditional missionary

[12] Hurley, *The Gothic Body: Sexuality, Materialism and Degeneration at the Fin de Siècle*, pp. 3 & 4.
[13] Grand, 'Ourselves and Our Neighbours' in *Letters on the Simple Life* (London: Partridge & Co., 1905), p. 25.

position, the sensual teasing of the lips and tongue of the 'fair girl' overwhelms Stoker's bastion of Victorian English manhood as he 'closed [his] eyes in a languorous ecstasy and waited – waited with beating heart' (*D*, pp. 42 & 43). At this point Harker's submission places him at serious risk of becoming unmanned by this endeavour to deflower him, but Stoker occludes these abhuman women as they are stopped by the abhuman male, Dracula, and Jonathan is temporarily saved from abjection through gender inversion.

By exploring ways in which maintaining the *status quo* could undermine the gendered roles of both sexes, Stoker criticised marriage market practices and refuted the dominant discourse's worries of female gender inversion in New Woman plans. He highlighted the emasculation inherent in sexual manipulation by women cleverly groomed to entrap men. These vampiric she-devils metaphorically exaggerate the worst case scenario for women who, like Corelli's Sibyl, had been taught to display 'a few showy gifts, almost avowedly to help [...] in husband-hunting' and illustrate 'the indifference and misjudgement of men that women are so brought up'. Society allowed women to be 'dressed and adapted for the [marriage] market,' thus not only creating women 'unfit for any higher function', but who could also threaten to destabilise the essence of Victorian manhood. Stoker, in his linkage of Harker's wistful damsels with the vampiric she-devils, suggests that the combination of prospective marriage candidates with 'showy gifts' and the degenerate ministrations of the libertine male could irreparably affect the evolution of the English race.[14]

Again, in common with Lady Sybil Elton, Stoker's female vampires metamorphose into a grotesque hyperbole of their previous condition and, as a result, offer men both 'a threat

[14] John Boyd-Kinnear, 'The Social Position of Women in the Present Age' in Josephine E. Butler, ed., *Woman's Work and Woman's Culture: A Series of Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1869), p. 366.

and a promise'. That these ideas were of concern to Victorians is underlined byJohn Boyd-Kinnear's comments on the repression of women:

> the purity, the charity, the tenderness that is in them, we now corrupt and crush by misdirection, and by forbidding them any object save that which a possible husband and children may supply.[15]

Dracula has obviously not fulfilled this definition of the role of husband to any of the vampire women despite his earlier promises of love. The women's opinion that 'You yourself never loved; you never love!' and his reply that, 'Yes, I too can love, you yourselves can tell it from the past', shows a clear disparity in the male and female expectations of loving relationships (*D*, p. 43). This pressure of providing a secure home proved too much for many men who compounded the marriage problems by choosing to remain single. John Tosh says that 'for them [*fin-de-siècle* men], domesticity no longer represented a fresh vision of comfort and reassurance, but a straitjacket. [...] Every man who opted for the single state was seen to condemn a woman to the denial of her 'natural destiny as a wife and mother'.[16] Clearly there was confusion and conflicting interests surrounding aspects of marriage with neither sex being satisfied with prevailing conditions.

Anomalies in this respect are highlighted by Lucy when she confides in Mina; '[Arthur] *tells me* he loves me more, but I doubt that, for at first he told me that he couldn't love me more than he did then'; women had become used to doubting the honeyed words of the lover (*D*, p. 101). Lucy's comments suggest that perhaps to the man, wooing was all

[15] Boyd-Kinnear, 'The Social Position of Women in the Present Age', in Butler, ed., *Woman's Work and Woman's Culture: A Series of Essays*, p. 367.
[16] Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, p. 172.

important but, for the woman, happiness and satisfaction within marital life superseded this. The moment of consummation created a watershed between emotional and physical performance; the man took a step back and the woman was left with a void. The spurned vampire lovers are 'crushed by misdirection' and, in the absence of any other available skills, are doomed to spend eternity in sucking the blood of lifeless children supplied by their paradoxical husband. In some past dream of normality these children would have brought completion to a life of love in a happy marriage, but Stoker provides a strong image of the effect a continuum of debauchery and disease could have on future generations. Jonathan's modern sensibilities allow Stoker to distinguish the contrast between these creatures and a modern Englishwoman:

> I am alone in the castle with these awful women. Faugh! Mina is a woman, and there is nought in common. They are the devils of the pit.
>
> *D*, p. 55.

This juxtaposition allows the reader to anticipate the example of womanhood Mina will perform and thus expect it to be diametrically opposed to that of the hellish doyens of vampirism. By crafting Mina as a New Woman who would retain a selective number of traditional values, Stoker shows how compromise can hold a promise of future fulfilment within marriage. Tosh points out the importance of marriage as a rite of passage: 'Establishing a household creates the conditions for private life, but it has also been a crucial stage in winning recognition as an adult, fully masculine person'.[17] Stoker showed that this alone was no longer sufficient in the *fin de siècle*; it was how one created this and with what type of partner that defined upright masculinity and thus, social eugenics of the race.

[17] Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, p. 2.

In his plan for the ideal coupling, Dracula needs Harker - not to feed on him, but to use Jonathan as his path to create a new vampiric race using Mina as his mate. The villain intends to pursue Mina as a woman deserving of his attentions: a modern woman, educated, useful and with a mind that may be worthy of his egotistical prowess and eugenic aspirations. Dracula insidiously whispers the hint of this fate in Jonathan's face, simultaneously revealing what Harker's final destiny will be and mounting a direct challenge to English manhood. The Count emasculates the swooning Harker by carrying him to bed, undressing him and folding his clothes tidily away. Aligned with femininity, Harker risks becoming provender to satiate the abhuman appetites of the female vampires; keeping control of one's performed gender was imperative to the survival of both sexes.

Compounding the lack of fortitude, and unable to single-handedly rid the world of the vampire, Harker flees 'this cursed land where the devil and his children still walk with earthly feet' (*D*, p. 55). His loss of touch with reality, drives out of his mind the fact that Dracula is about to unleash heinous horrors on London and his main concern is to preserve some scrap of his manhood deciding that if he falls from the precipice 'a man may sleep - as a man' (*D*, p. 55). Terror temporarily banishes his social conscience as he bids 'Goodbye' to the world (*D*, p. 55). His last cry however, suggests that a deeper need to survive infiltrates his terror-ridden brain as, at the last moment, he remembers Dracula's threat and calls 'Mina!' in anguish (*D*, p. 55). Stoker's syntactical arrangement of the word on its own, almost as an afterthought and as the final word of the chapter, enforces the threat of the unchecked monstrous male to Victorian womanhood.

The marked contrast between Harker's anguished cry and Mina's jollity, as the novel moves from the gloom of Jonathan's diary to the light-heartedness of Mina's

epistolary exchanges, provides an immediate insight into disparities between the genders. Even though Mina is learning shorthand and keeping a diary in order that she and Jonathan can better relate to one another, the anomalies of their situations make her efforts seem somewhat superfluous. What becomes evident here, albeit amplified, is that despite their best efforts, the woman's sphere was still too limited to allow women like Mina to fully relate to man's experiences and troubles outwith the unadventurous existences led by most females. This is corroborated by Mrs Humphrey Ward's view that 'the necessary and normal experience of women [...] does not and can never provide them with such materials for sound judgement as are open to men.'[18] Mina later changes this by proving to be capable of coping with testing experiences on a par with the men. To provide her with the potential for this, Stoker bestowed New Woman attributes on his heroine. At the beginning of her first letter, Mina establishes her independence: she was an assistant schoolmistress, teaching being 'the first and highest profession, and one for which the majority of women are suited'.[19] The supposed safety of teaching or governessing as one of the prescribed most desirable employments for women did not lead to an expectation of an adventurous lifestyle or one that would broaden horizons for the incumbent. Stoker, however, does not commit Mina to this fate, instead choosing to involve her in a life-changing adventure that she and her husband could share.

By this time, it was accepted that young women should earn a living and they were encouraged to

[18] Mrs Humphrey Ward, 'An Appeal Against Female Suffrage', (1889) in Sally Ledger and Roger Luckhurst, eds., *The Fin de Siècle: A Reader in Cultural History 1800-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 93.
[19] Peter Charles, ed., *The Girl's Own Indoor Book: containing practical help to girls on all matters relating to their material comfort and wellbeing* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1888), p. 487.

> look the matter fearlessly in the face, to see what is to be done, what can be done, and, by studying how to do some work thoroughly well, to make themselves self-supporting, industrious and happy.[20]

Mina fulfils this by identifying that shorthand and typewriting would make her not only more useful but also happier in her marriage. *The Girl's Own Paper* ran an article, in 1888, extolling the 'nature, uses and advantages of the type-writer' and how type-writing would revolutionise work for girls by making 'everything clear, legible and straight forward'; this becomes Mina's forte within the Crew of Light.[21] The following year, the same publication ran a series of articles to teach shorthand to young girls, giving it the seal of approval and encouraging their readers to try it out. Women writers were the backbone of this journal and penned all sorts of articles from the comfort of their homes, encouraging girls from various levels of society into worthy pastimes and employment. It thus became respectable, within certain parameters, to become a 'lady journalist' as Mina has a passing aspiration to be (*D*, p. 56). In 1890, the year Stoker began *Dracula*, an article entitled "A Stepping Stone to Literature" showed an example of a group of girls who aspired to be writers.[22] Mina is thus portrayed as a young lady fully in step with her times while maintaining a strong respectability that could balance traditional values and decorum with New Woman aspirations.[23]

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[20] Charles Peters, ed., *The Girl's Own Indoor Book: containing practical help to girls on all matters relating to their material comfort and wellbeing*, (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1888), p. 487.
[21] 'The Type-writer and Type-writing', in *The Girl's Own Paper*, Issue 451 (August 18th, 1888), (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1888), p. 745.
[22] 'A Stepping Stone to Literature', in *Gillyflowers: being the extra summer number of the Girl's Own Paper, 1890* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1890), pp. 24-27.
[23] The following explanations draw on, among others, Sally Ledger and Roger Luckhurst, eds., *The Fin de Siècle: A Reader in Cultural History 1800-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Carol Dyhouse, *Feminism and the Family in England 1880-1939*; Valerie Sanders, *The Private Lives of Victorian Women* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1989); Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle*; Mona Caird, *The Morality of Marriage and Other Essays on the Status and Destiny of Women* ; Wendy Forrester, *Great-Grandmama's Weekly: A Celebration of The Girl's Own Paper 1880-1901* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1980); Hugh Stutfield, 'Tommyrotics', pp. 833-845.

Women's position in regard to education and independence had taken great strides forward since Mary Wollstonecraft advocated education for girls in 1792.[24] Throughout the nineteenth century, the call for reform in women's social standing was upheld by a succession of female authors, but the Contagious Diseases Act Campaigns, changes in the Married Women's Property Acts and female ownership of printing companies enabled the call for further and more sweeping changes in the last thirty years of the century to reach a wider audience. Literate and inspired reformers such as Josephine Butler and Florence Nightingale garnered substantial support from both genders. There was however, a large element of society who thought that, with education and by entering the employment market, women would relinquish their femininity and become a self-styled race of manly women who would be a parody of Victorian ideals. Hugh Stutfield described this being as '"the desexualised half-man" [...who] is a victim of the universal passion for learning and "culture" which, when ill-digested, are apt to cause intellectual dyspepsia'.[25] Calls by writers, such as Mona Caird, Ella Hepworth Dixon and Sarah Grand, for freedoms in the marriage market led to worries of sexual liberty and threats to primogeniture and there were many articles in journals of the day vociferously arguing the finer points of the debate. Stoker constructed Mina's character as a balance between both sides of this discourse; Mina is modern without becoming a threat to dominant discourse concerns. To emphasise his point, Stoker juxtaposes Mina's positive attributes with the role of a traditional Victorian lady as performed by Lucy. It is a strange anomaly that the girls seem to have shared their childhoods; they have 'slept together and eaten together, and laughed and cried together' and yet one is rich and pampered and the other is impoverished and

[24] Mary Wollstonecraft, 'A Vindication of the Rights of Woman;' in *Mary Wollstonecraft: Political Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
[25] Stutfield, 'Tommyrotics', p. 837.

working (*D*, p. 57). Despite the lack of explanation by the author, this trope does allow Lucy to share her innermost thoughts with her friend, and paints, for the reader, a picture of a society maiden whose life has been geared to making a good marriage in order to foster secure primogeniture.

Careful planning to enhance procreation is put at risk however, by Lucy's desire to follow some of the New Woman principles, but without the necessary additional education to define acceptable parameters. Her limited universe revolves around the excitement of proposals and admirations, but lacks Mina's world-wise sense of propriety. Sally Ledger, in her discussion of Mina's worry for her friend during her nightly wanderings, proposes that 'Lucy Westenra transgresses the boundaries laid down by Victorian gender codes in a pretty thorough-going way.'[26] What this fails to take into account is that, firstly, Lucy has a history of sleepwalking and, secondly, that she has been entranced and enticed by Dracula to attend at his beck and call. Dracula's ability to utilise his powers to overcome the stronger male minds of both Harker and Renfield has been discussed earlier and the flighty Lucy, with vague mental instability, would not have possessed the wherewithal to resist. Lucy has only 'a vague memory' of her mesmerised sojourns and describes her recollection of them as 'my soul seemed to go out from my body and float about in the air', suggesting that she was an involuntary, not fully present, participant - a metaphor for many young women sacrificed to the vagaries of the Marriage Market (*D*, p. 94). Ledger further suggests that Mina's concerns for Lucy's 'reputation in case the story should get wind' shows Lucy's complete lack of modesty as 'unescorted women in the nineteenth century [...] were regularly mistaken for prostitutes: 'nice' women never went out

[26] Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle*, p. 101.

unaccompanied' (*D*, p. 89).[27] This opinion both misreads the situation on the cliffs and ignores completely the fact that Mina, the respectable woman, consequently travels half way across Europe unaccompanied with no slur to her reputation. Further, Mina herself is out in the middle of the night in her nightclothes without either shoes or shawl, and were this behaviour to cast aspersions on anyone, it would do so to both women. It is to be remembered that Lucy 'ha[d] [...] taken to her old habit of walking in her sleep', an affliction which also affected her father, and this could have been enough to bring into doubt not only her mental stability, but also that of her lineage which, were it questioned, would make her entirely unsuitable as a prospective wife or mother (*D*, p. 72).

Dracula was written not so long after the era of the Sensation Novel where women such as Lady Audley were committed to asylums with regularity for transgressions threatening primogeniture.[28] Sir Frederick Treves, in his book, *The Elephant Man and other Reminiscences*, told the tale of a woman committed to a mental institution by her husband as 'A Cure for Nerves'.[29] Mental problems in women were still a major concern and explain not only Mina's anxiety, but also Lucy's ensuing instabilities. Coupled with the fact that one of Lucy's prospective suitors is a psychiatrist, this extreme threat could cast a shadow that would encompass Lucy and her immediate and extended family were anyone to 'get wind' of it. This would be taboo to a masculinity in flux and with eugenic concerns.

[27] Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle*, p. 101.
[28] Mary Elizabeth Braddon, *Lady Audley's Secret* (Canada: Broadview Press, 2003). (First published in 1862 and regularly reprinted many times. It was selected as one of the *Daily Telegraph's* '100 Best Novels in the World' as late as 1899 and was therefore still very relevant at the time of writing *Dracula*.)
[29] Frederick Treves, *The Elephant Man and Other Reminiscences* (London: Cassell and Company, 1928), pp. 83-105.

Pertinently, Mina's mental stability is underlined during these occurrences; she is level-headed, resourceful and caring. She is not fazed by her friend's strange behaviour and, although she does admit that 'it seemed a little uncanny' and that she 'did not quite like it', her self control remains exemplary (Both *D*, p. 94). Self control, while generally ascribed to men, was also an attribute highly recommended to *fin-de-siècle* girls:

> the self-control of culture is now understood to be the rightful property of every lady possessing "a sound mind in a sound body" and well-bred, well-educated women prefer to leave screams, swoons, hysterics and "fuss" of every description to their uncultivated sisters. The woman strong to help and save [...] is the woman to be admired.[30]

This again places Lucy as the 'uncultivated sister' and, since Mina herself admits that she is 'not of a fainting disposition,' she is set up as a 'woman to be admired', indicating why she is held in such high esteem by the Crew of Light (*D*, p. 198). Her strength and resolve allow Mina to take it upon herself to remedy the situation as best she can without involving or causing upset to anyone else. She accomplishes this while carrying the burden of her own worries regarding her fiancé. Mina's actions and fortitude are in diametrical opposition to Jonathan's behaviour as elucidated in Sister Agatha's letter. Mina copes well with the threats to Lucy's mental health and she maintains the same calmness when she learns that her fiancé has had 'a violent brain fever'; she is 'not afraid to think it or say it' as she understands he is safe and on the path to recovery (*D*, p. 94-95). She is not daunted by the prospect of travelling across Europe on her own to a strange land, but is more excited by that of becoming Jonathan's wife. This highlights her priorities as divergent to those of her friend: where Lucy shares all her innermost thoughts in her letters, Mina keeps

[30] Lily Watson, 'Self-Control', *Girl's Own Annual 1887 – 1888*, p. 499.

her confidences for her husband and nurses her excitement in her own heart, using not just outward impressions, but inner fortitude to support performance.

Jonathan's performance of manliness loses its equilibrium while in hospital in Buda-Pesth; Mina describes him as 'a wreck of himself'; the idea of the 'mental wreck' is one usually identified with lapses in control of mental faculties among women (*D*, p. 99).[31] Jonathan's dichotomy between manliness and childhood weakness is excused by the source of the challenge to his vigour: 'his fear was of great and terrible things, which no mortal can treat of' (*D*, p. 99). Harker's vindication is permitted as he prevails where weaker men would have crumbled and it is this which re-establishes his masculinity and allows 'other men to grant [him his] manhood'.[32]

Jonathan finds continued solace and healing in his marriage to Mina, but unlike the unhealthily diseased male, his loving adherence to the solidity of a basic Victorian social institution acts as his hope of a stable future. Harker wants to put the madness and abjection of his experiences behind him and 'take up [his] life here, with [their] marriage' (*D*, p. 100). Stoker employs the trope of women improving diseased men by marrying them, but, unlike Colquhoun and Menteith, Jonathan shares and discusses the reasons behind his condition with Mina and thus sets up a new, trusting partnership. Mina seals Jonathan's diary symbolically with her wedding ring to give closure to this episode and to show 'an outward and visible sign for us all our lives that we trusted each other' (*D*, p. 100). Caird and Grand's ideas of equal partnership are reiterated in the trust and sharing of

[31] Treves, *The Elephant Man and Other Reminiscences*, p. 91.
[32] Kimmel, *The Gender of Desire: Essays on Male Sexuality*, p. 33.

the modern concepts which define the Harkers' union and align Stoker with New Woman ideals.

Unfortunately, marriage is not sufficient in itself to afford Jonathan a full recovery and Mina fears that 'the very essence of [his] strength [of nature] is gone' (*D*, p. 143). This is exacerbated when Jonathan's senses almost desert him once more when he spots Dracula in London. He is so overcome with terror that Mina believes 'if he had not had me to lean on and to support him he would have sunk down' (*D*, p. 155). She cradles him to rest and sleep, but, once awake, his brain seems to have compartmentalised the dread to its nether recesses and he reverts to the epitome of gentlemanliness. Stoker however, purports that marriage alone was an insufficient cure for the damaged male; men needed a cause and purpose to banish the doldrums and maintain a potent manliness. For the modern *fin-de-siècle* couple, Stoker suggests, this was inextricably linked with their relationship and marriage; New Woman attributes necessitated a balance with secure, indisputable manliness to maintain a marital equilibrium.

The prospect of manly restoration presents itself with the appearance of Professor Van Helsing and his reassurances that all Jonathan has experienced 'is true' and that his acts in the castle prove him to be 'not one to be injured in permanence by a shock. His brain and his heart are all right' (*D*, p. 167). To Harker, for whom 'it was the doubt as to the reality of the whole thing that knocked me over,' the endorsement by a respected male that his masculinity remains intact is the turning point on his road to full recovery. He had 'felt impotent, and in the dark, and distrustful', clearly worried he had succumbed to an emasculation he could not fully recover from. Homosocial support and validity 'seems to

have made a new man of [him]' and he is 'not afraid, even of the Count'; with his masculinity reaffirmed, his courage returns (All *D*, p. 168). Jonathan's explanation of his own personal coping mechanism gives an insight into the stoic thought processes of Victorian manliness when under threat:

> I was in doubt, and then everything took a hue of unreality, and I did not know what to trust, even the evidence of my own senses. Not knowing what to trust, I did not know what to do; and so had only to keep on working in what had hitherto been the groove of my life. The groove ceased to avail me, and I mistrusted myself. [...] you don't know what it is to doubt everything, even yourself"
>
> *D*, p. 168.

Harker's analysis of his internalised process 'that he doubted the evidence of his own feelings' rather than believe Dracula was real, correlates with Hurley's explanation that in Gothic literature 'the unnerving possibility of one's own madness is preferable to the still more unnerving one of supernatural agency disrupting familiar realities.'[33] It also illustrates 'the prolonged period of "hesitation" undergone by the character [...] who witness[es] the incursion of supernaturalism into a natural world'.[34] Jonathan has chosen to believe that he is truly mad rather than accept the emasculating aspects of his own experience. It is only once his soundness of mind has been given a masculine endorsement that he can begin to recover his manhood. He can embrace the idea that an 'event has indeed taken place, it is an integral part of reality – [that] the reality is controlled by laws unknown to us. [...and] the devil [...] really exists, precisely like other living beings.'[35] The enlightened revelation goes some way to explain the immediate bond between the two men and, with his manliness reaffirmed, Harker is enabled to help Van Helsing with 'heart and soul' in his fight against Dracula (*D*, p. 169).

[33] Hurley, *The Gothic Body: Sexuality, Materialism and Degeneration at the Fin de Siècle*, p. 15.
[34] Hurley, *The Gothic Body: Sexuality, Materialism and Degeneration at the Fin de Siècle*, p. 15.
[35] Todorov, *The Fantastic*, p. 25.

Initially, there is equilibrium in the Harker's research of Dracula's crimes. Mina's handling of the horrors unfolded through both Jonathan's diary and Seward's phonograph, define her ability to simultaneously overcome extreme fear and remain instinctively feminine. The events leading to Lucy's 'terrible doom' affect Mina, but 'the anguish of [Seward's] heart' leads her to pragmatic concern for the living. To her 'it was like a soul crying out to almighty God' and she immediately insists that 'No one must hear [Seward's words] spoken ever again!' (*D*, p. 197). Mina's perspicacity allows her to hear, in Seward's tones, the love he bears for Lucy. She immediately intuits that for others to 'hear [his] heartbeat' could severely damage his standing in the eyes of the rest of The Crew of Light, not only in the dropping of the mask of manly stoicism, but also by exposing the depth of Seward's love for Lucy to Arthur (*D*, p. 197). Mina understands the boundaries of 'purity of intention [...] direction of reason and [...] restraint of moderation' which formed the basis of manly friendship and would not destroy it.[36] Her perception serves to create an unusual bond between the two protagonists who develop a mutual respect and trust for one another. Stoker pays a strong compliment to Mina's character in that 'a sweet-faced, dainty-looking girl' can so quickly gain the esteem and trust of a professional doctor in so short a space (*D*, p. 194). Her New Woman command of technology, her bravery and obvious sense of decorum, blend to admit her respect in her own right, allowing her to claim a role in the group before her husband joins; it is important that she establish herself as 'Madam Mina', rather than as Mrs Harker, to be considered as an independent woman albeit a married one. It was a major step for a male author to allow a female character acknowledgement in this way, dwelling on the fact that women could successfully expand their sphere without loss of femininity and traditional values. Mina's pragmatism

[36] Mangan and Walvin, *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, p. 96.

combined with her skills enable her to redefine gender roles to maximise everyone's talents to ensure that they gain 'all the knowledge and all the help [they] can get' (*D*, p. 197).

Mina is thus secure in her position on Jonathan's arrival with his manly resolve firmly re-established. Mina describes him as

> never so resolute, never so strong, never so full of volcanic energy [...] he is true grit, and he improves under strain that would kill a weaker nature.
>
> *D*, p. 202.

Seward's reliance on stereotypical adventurers such as Quincey is baffled as Jonathan's appearance belies his manly resolve:

> he is uncommonly clever [...] but he is also a man of great nerve. That going down to the vault a second time was a remarkable piece of daring. After reading his account of it I was prepared to meet a good specimen of manhood, but hardly the quiet, business-like gentleman who came here today.
>
> *D*, p. 199.

Stoker, like Conan Doyle, explores non-traditional adventuring abilities in the urban gentleman as a definer of manliness. Despite heading to Castle Dracula in a professional capacity, Harker's inner manliness in combination with support from his wife and Van Helsing, enables him to overcome the extreme attempts to emasculate him. Eve Kosofsy Sedgwick comments that in homosocial relationships 'actual women are so far from the centre of consciousness that even to be womanlike *in relation to men* is not very dangerous'.[37] While this idea detracts from Jonathan's horrific experiences, it provides a

[37] Kosofsy Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, P. 34. (Section in italics is from the original text.)

platform of understanding in relation to the lack of comments the Crew of Light have on these aspects of Harker's experiences. With no female reference within their adventuring experiences, relativity of male interaction had to be redefined to provide a perspective for any possible feminising influence; adventuring was a male activity within male-defined boundaries that did not emasculate, but built on inner strength. Thus, in the eyes of the Crew, this new type of hero has earned the unquestionable right to be seen as 'true grit' in a way that they have not as he has survived the challenges to his masculinity without homosocial support. The privileged upbringing of men such as Seward, Arthur and Quincey afforded them the ability to experience adventure in the controlled environments of organised expeditions and hunting parties surrounded by safeguards and menials to pander to their needs. Jonathan's unpreparedness for the horrific adventure he survived alone without the support mechanisms available to his privileged brethren, elevates him into a new definition of manliness that is achieved by deeds and not by social privilege. Vindicated and secure in both his mental capacity and choice of wife, his inner core of manliness quietly demands confidence, admiration, trust and recognition from other men. This underlines Kimmel's idea that men 'want other men to grant [them their] manhood and adds the importance of homosocial ideals to the equation.[38]

Jonathan and Mina, during this phase of the novel, are equally strong and respected; their genders are in balance and their marriage is in harmony. While Harker is 'uncommonly clever', his partner equals him in that 'she has man's brain – a brain that a man should have were he much gifted.' This is complimented by the balance between Jonathan's steely manhood and Mina's 'woman's heart' (*D*, p. 207). Stoker portrays a harmonious couple combining talents as the lynch-pin to organise diverse pieces of

[38] Michael Kimmel, *The Gender of Desire*, p. 33.

information into a pattern to allow the formulation of a plan of action. When it comes to agreeing with Van Helsing's proposals to fight the vampire, 'there was no need for speaking between [them]', so in tune are they with each other. Mina's unusual fortitude informs authorial purpose as she shares her thoughts with the reader: 'I felt my heart icy cold, but it did not even occur to me to draw back' (*D*, p. 210). Stoker, in bestowing her with inestimable courage, an attribute of conventional manliness the others could accept and admire, adds another complex layer to her character and once more melds traditional gender roles to suggest the possible expansion women could accomplish if circumstances demanded. While women like Grand's Evadne and even Edith Beale, display courage in the face of defiant odds, Mina's courage is not related to marriage or the home and moves her into a new field of freedom and adventure than had previously been permitted for female literary characters. Stoker discredits the dominant discourse ideas around Allen's 'prime antithesis' as Mina is permitted a degree of active aggression without sacrificing her femininity or becoming a 'desexualised half-man'.[39]

Stoker makes a very good case for women's inclusion as when the Crew of Light choose to exclude Mina from their tasks they commit a serious tactical error. While the male attitude reverts to protective mode as they 'shall act all the more free that [Mina] is not in the danger, such as [they] are', Mina surmises that 'strength [is] the best safety' (*D*, p. 214). Despite her unusual resolve, her feminine cause has not progressed enough to disagree with them although she found it 'a bitter pill [...] to swallow'. While Mina sees herself as part of the group's strength, the men rely on homosocial bonding and the manly force of physical valour rather than taking a more holistic view as Mina does:

[39] Allen, *The Woman Who Did*, p. 64.
Stutfield, 'Tommyrotics', p. 837.

> manlike, they have told me to go to bed and sleep; as if a woman can sleep when those she loves are in danger! I shall lie down and pretend to sleep, lest Jonathan have anxiety about me when he returns.
>
> *D*, p. 214.

Outnumbered by the men and, as yet, unable to fully voice her opinions, Mina places herself in danger as, like the protagonist of 'The Yellow Wallpaper', she concedes to outmoded practices detrimental to her wellbeing. Jonathan, newly included in the homosocial alliance of the Crew of Light, simultaneously reverts to chauvinist mode in order to 'let us men do the work' (*D*, p. 218). Stoker reverses their previous bond to show how easily gender balance can be destabilised by adherence to outdated practices and, in doing this he alerts the reader's sense of foreboding. Stoker addresses the rationale that excludes women from participation in matters of import to them as he highlights Harker's reasoning:

> There may be things which would frighten her to hear; and yet to conceal them from her might be worse than to tell her if once she suspected that there was any concealment. Henceforth our work is to be a sealed book to her, till at least such time as we can tell her that all is finished, and the earth free from a monster of the nether world. I daresay it will be difficult to begin to keep silence after such confidence as ours; but I shall be resolute, and tomorrow I shall keep quiet after tonight's doings, and shall refuse to speak of anything that has happened. I rest on the sofa, so as not to disturb her.
>
> *D*, p. 223-224.

Jonathan relies on masculine reasoning that fails to recognise the woman's strength and denies her the ability to control her own destiny; Mina becomes trapped within a silence which effectually cuts her off from both necessary information and emotional support. The Crew also negate any help she can provide, branding her as important, but ineffectual and treating her in a proprietary manner which ignores her talents. Stoker underlined that

inclusion of women in important matters had to override outdated gender attitudes – however reasoned they may be.

Anomalies in this section may be explained by Stoker's desire to emphasise the dangers of underestimating the talents of the modern woman. In his biography of Stoker, his nephew, Daniel Farzan, although not an academic critic, suggests that Stoker's own wife was a very traditionally modest Victorian woman who shrank from any type of modern relationship with her husband and that the marriage was not really a happy one. Farsan employs anecdotal evidence of the family having given the impression that she was 'a cold woman [...] an elegant, aloof woman, more interested in her position in society than she was in her son.'[40] He quotes Stoker's granddaughter as saying that 'she doubted if 'Granny Moo' was really capable of love.[41] In the wake of this, the modern reader can understand why Stoker dwelt on the importance of marriage with an educated, strong woman and the folly of masculine actions should they attempt to quash the talents of women. The unsettling changes in Mina's marital rapport allow isolated anxieties to prey on her mind. Stoker supports this with the prophetic lexical link:

> everything that one does seems, no matter how right it may be, to bring on the very thing which is to be deplored
>
> *D*, p. 226.

and shows how this was not 'one of the lessons that [...] poor women ha[d] to learn' by making it the catalyst which leaves the unprotected Mina - and, by extension, Victorian women - open to attack by the very forces the men seek to repel (*D*, p. 226).

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[40] Daniel Farsan, *The Man Who Wrote Dracula: A Biography of Bram Stoker* (London: Michael Joseph, 1975), p. 213.
[41] Farsan, *The Man Who Wrote Dracula: A Biography of Bram Stoker*, pp. 213-214.

Elaine Showalter proposes that danger comes from Mina being 'kept in the dark' and that '"the dark" is the place where Dracula lives'; the men have, in their arrogance, pushed her towards imprisonment in 'the dark'.[42] Mina initially imagines she is dreaming of her husband, as a good woman should, and then supposes that she is being given 'spiritual guidance', so effective is the Count's disguise as the white, swirling mist when he oozes through the windows insinuating himself into her room and her mind. It is his inability to disguise his red, evil eyes which exposes him: 'suddenly the horror burst upon [her]' as she makes the link between Lucy and Jonathan's descriptions of their respective attacks (*D*, pp. 227 & 228). Although she does not connect the happenings with reality, she knows that 'such dreams [...] would unseat one's reason'. Previously, Mina would have discussed this with her husband, and possibly with Van Helsing, but, excluded and in her present emotional state, she chooses to maintain a strong exterior performance. Drugged by the male homosocial attempt to suppress her distress, Mina still employs rationality after imbibing the sleeping draught:

> I hope I have not done wrong, for as sleep begins to flirt with me, a new fear comes: that I may have been foolish in thus depriving myself of the power of waking. I might want it.
>
> *D*, p. 228.

Stoker emphasises the dangers of women relinquishing their power to the ministrations of men and leaving themselves vulnerable in a way they would not have if they trusted in themselves instead of simply accepting male domination. The only way for Mina, and the New Woman, to step out of 'the dark' was by asserting their own beliefs to take a full participatory role in the public sphere. This is a strong message from an author often

[42] Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy*, p. 182.

accused of misogyny, as it is clear that he respected and promoted new levels of independence for women.

Stoker highlights the imbalance in relationships as Mina's power wanes exponentially with Jonathan's new found manliness; Harker's enthusiasm in his allotted tasks increases as Mina became paler and weaker. His continuing detachment is obvious from the smaller mentions she warrants in his diary. He sees she is 'tired and pale' and that she feels 'the sting of our not showing our confidence', but completely misreads her 'shudders' when the subject of their hunt is mentioned (*D,* p. 234). He is so engrossed in his manly activities that he thinks 'the ceasing of telling things has made no difference between us' (*D,* p. 234). Stoker lays stress on the fact that man had to move from his dogmatic stance and work in partnership with his spouse if they were both to achieve wholeness. Harker finishes this diary entry with the words, 'Oh, but I am sleepy!'; he has certainly been sleepy in more ways than one (*D,* p. 235). Stoker is at his most cutting as he utilises a lunatic to awaken society to the extreme dangers of hegemonic protectionism. It is Renfield who notices that Mrs Harker 'was like tea after the teapot has been watered' and explains how he 'didn't mean Him [Dracula] to take any more of her life' (*D,* pp. 245 & 246). His moment of redemption as he lays down his life for her, emphasises the vital clarity of the information he imparts.

Harker's devotion to outdated hegemony results in his re-emasculation by Dracula and allows the monster to place Mina's future in jeopardy. This rape scenario is the fulcrum point for both genders. While the future of the Harkers hangs momentarily in the balance, homosocial support, however tardy, transforms Dracula from the predatory evil

despoiler whose ‘eyes flamed red with devilish passion’ to one who cowers from Van Helsing’s ‘Sacred wafer’ and retreats in darkness and mist, his male prowess reduced to ‘a faint vapour’ (*D*, p. 247). Having reduced them both to extreme abjection, Stoker reinstates the Harker’s equilibrium when, despite ‘all the man in him [being] awake at the need for instant exertion’, Mina persuades Jonathan to stay with her in her hour of need (*D*, p. 248). When she breaks down at the sight of the blood she has smeared on his robe, Jonathan reciprocates by declaring:

> May God judge me by my deserts, and punish me with more bitter suffering than ever this hour, if by any act or will of mine anything ever come between us!
>
> *D*, p. 249.

The Harkers support each other through the terrible revelations that are to follow and emerge with a combined steely calmness that underpins their future relationship. Readers and characters alike now understand that it is only through combined gender strengths that they can develop the wherewithal to wreak revenge and protect society.

Stoker proposed that woman’s strengths would beneficially support society only if they developed confidence in her abilities – to do otherwise would inflict untold suffering:

> There must be no more concealment, [...]. Alas! we have had too much already. And besides there is nothing in all the world that can give me more pain than I have already endured – than I suffer now! Whatever may happen, it must be of new hope or of new courage to me!
>
> *D*, p. 235.

Stoker once more invokes ideas commensurate with New Woman ideals. Mina echoes Perkins Gilman’s character’s fight behind the wallpaper that ‘strangles them off and turns

them upside down, and makes their eyes white' (*YW*, p. 44). Mina shares this pain, but Stoker creates her a husband who, unlike that of the Yellow Wallpaper's protagonist, is able to help her escape from the horrors of imprisonment in a silent, isolated existence. Stoker indicates the positivity of strong, intellectual femininity and provides a summation of women's fight to gain the position in society that they hoped to achieve towards the *fin de siècle* with constructive, uninhibited male support. Ella Hepworth Dixon proposed that:

> "Tout comprendre, c'est tous pardonner," is most applicable of all to the eternal question of the sexes, and the man or woman who has mastered its significance is well on the way to make an ideal partner in marriage.[43]

Stoker utilises Mina and Jonathan to illustrate the way in which honesty and sharing can pave the way to happiness and to successful relationships.

Success for both parties was, and still is, dependent on maintaining balance. Stoker thus placed emphasis on the importance of unquestionable manliness. Having committed himself to his wife, Harker must avenge his second emasculation by Dracula to restore his personal equilibrium. Jonathan's violent outbursts, both verbally and when he recklessly attacks the Count, indicate that he has not achieved this. Mona Caird proposed that

> the average man appears to be pitifully lacking in mental resources. If he has not something to destroy, Time is his enemy. [...] We are beginning to understand, that we can only eradicate a habit or weaken an instinct, by altering the process of the intellect, of the conscience, of the will, [...]. The enemy has to be met and fought within the man's own soul, not merely by laws from without.[44]

[43] Ella Hepworth Dixon, 'Why Women are Ceasing to Marry' in Ledger and Luckhurst, eds., *The Fin de Siècle: A Reader in Cultural History 1800-1900*, p. 84. (Translated this reads - To understand everything is to forgive everything.)
[44] Caird, 'The Man of the Moment', p. 226.

Male and female authorial purposes diverged in acceptance of these ideas. Stoker's character addresses his 'mental resources' and 'alter[s] the process of his intellect', but the battle for his 'own soul' still has to include the manly destruction of something; only by destroying Dracula can Harker eradicate the emasculation he suffered, feel vindicated and fully reinforce his masculinity.

Stoker evaluates female perspicacity as he shows the importance of Mina's support in healing Jonathan's intellectual processes. Her unique worth is set when Van Helsing addressed Jonathan as 'dear husband of Madam Mina.' This also raises Harker's status to a privileged position as an integral part of this doyenne among women; an interesting shift in relation to his masculinity, but one which also validates their importance as a couple (*D*, p. 274). It also serves to reinforce her husband's significance above her other champions and places the onus on Jonathan as her main protagonist against evil. While supporting some radical ideas regarding women's struggles and their strengths and contributions, Stoker still clung to the traditional framework of man as the final bastion to support these changes.

That these changes in attitude and action were not a simple tasks for Stoker, or *fin-de-siècle* men in general, can be seen in the vacillation of the Crew of Light when hegemony reappears:

> Then, what we must do to prevent this [Mina's possible mesmeric communication with Dracula]; we must keep her ignorant of our intent, and so she cannot tell what she know not. This is a painful

> task! Oh! So painful that it heartbreak me to think of; but it must be. When today we meet, I must tell her that for reason which we will not speak she must not be more of our council, but be simply guarded by us.
>
> *D*, p. 281.

As Auerbach and Skal note:

> These men cannot make up their minds whether or not to include Mina in their work. In their peculiar circumstances, both inclusion and exclusion of a woman are likely to lead to disaster, but their vacillation also mirrors that of all Victorian men.[45]

Male vacillation was rooted in fear of change and was indicated in numerous writings of the *fin de siècle*. Nat Arling explained that, for many, affirmation of their manliness came from

> a man's estimate of his physical strength gloried in through centuries, and which ha[d] become so much an instinct that feeble men imagine[d] they [we]re stronger, and by false conclusion, more capable, than women, and exercise[d] the role of protection and guidance however unfitted for it.[46]

Stoker tried to combat these 'false conclusions' while endeavouring to allay fears that individuals should 'cling to the old ideals of discipline and duty, of manliness and self-reliance in men, and womanliness in women.'[47] There was clear indication of worry that, with woman's new found freedom and intelligence, traditional masculine roles would be undermined and men would find themselves 'amid much flabbiness and effeminacy.'[48] Even Grant Allen, who declared himself 'an enthusiast on the Woman Question,' was only

[45] Auerbach and Skal, eds., *Dracula*, footnote on p. 281.
[46] Arling, 'What is the Role of the New Woman?', p. 582.
[47] Stutfield, 'Tommyrotics', p. 845.
[48] Stutfield, 'Tommyrotics', p. 843.

prepared to offer women privileges inasmuch as it did not 'interfere in any way with [her] prime natural necessity' - this 'necessity' being her role as wife and mother.[49] Allen, however, did probe the heart of the matter that 'men [were] (rightly) very jealous of [their] virility. [They held] it a slight not to be borne that anyone should impugn [their] essential manhood.'[50] The idea that an emancipated woman could become strong enough to challenge hegemonic manhood was a deep-seated worry for the *fin-de-siècle* male regardless of his perceived support for female freedoms. Allen further proposed that 'instead of boasting of their sexlessness as a matter of pride, [women] ought to keep it in the dark, and to be ashamed of it – as ashamed as a man in a like predicament would be of his impotence.'[51] What this comment failed to understand was that women desired the right to choose between fecundity and abstention as befitted their chosen path – not to be simply expected to comply with the roles patriarchy would force upon them, nor did they themselves equate it as a threat to their femininity in the way that men view impotence in relation to their masculinity. These ideas indicate a blurring of lines between the inability to reproduce and the ability to choose whether to do so or not – Allen's opinions bespeak a clear notion that women's *raison d'être* should indisputably be to continuation of the human race.

Stoker, however, does not define Mina by mere biological function, but instead illustrates that he was of the opinion that women could instinctively intuit their own positions and that men needed to employ an element of trust. As a balanced modern woman, Mina removes this worry from the men as she 'realized the danger herself' (*D*, p. 281). Mina is endowed with extraordinary strength of mind to be aware that Dracula was

[49] Allen, 'Plain Words on the Woman Question', p. 450.
[50] Allen, 'Plain Words on the Woman Question', p. 452.
[51] Allen, 'Plain Words on the Woman Question', p. 452.

probing it - and to make attempts to resist; neither Lucy nor Renfield had this ability. It did, however, necessitate disturbing her honesty bond with her husband who 'felt that from that instant a door had been shut between [them]', as indeed it had since her brain was being taken over by an evil influence and she had to attempt to form a door between the two worlds in order to minimise collisions (*D*, p. 283). Women needed the mental strength to negotiate and organise their own intellect and relative positions before they could be at peace within a shared relationship. Stoker bestows Mina with the instinct to protect her family which, he reinforces, remained foremost and compel her to ensure that none of Dracula's malevolence will affect those she loves. Stoker reinforced the Victorian ideal of the woman as guardian of society's moral purity and indicated that his vision of the New Woman was one in which she would not abandon these ideals. Mina's mental exertions were echoed in *Ode to Thought*, a poem by Kirke White, quoted by Mona Caird:

> Hence away vindictive thought!
> Thy pictures are of pain;
> The visions through thy dark eye caught,
> They with no gentle charms are fraught,
> So prithee back again.
> I would not weep,
> I wish to sleep,
> Then why, thou busy foe, with me thy vigils keep?[52]

Caird went on from this example of the thought process which beset her gender to explain that women had, at that time:

> no reasonable alternative [...] we cannot expect, even if we ask, every woman to be a dauntless heroine, and to choose a hard and thorny path when a comparatively smooth one [...] offers itself,

[52] Caird, *Marriage and Other Essays on the Status and Destiny of Women*, p. 99. (Henry Kirke White's poem 'To Thought' can be found at http://archive.org/stream/poeticalwork00whit/poeticalwork00whit_djvu.txt (accessed on 11/02/14), poem number 158.)

> and, moreover, when the pressure of public opinion urges strongly in that direction.[53]

Stoker allows Mina to challenge this traditional role and choses to have her follow the 'thorny path' of her own volition, thereby setting a new 'example and precept' for women to emulate and men to admire and respond to.[54] Mina's internal struggle to overcome the insidious encroachment of decadence and disease is an opposition against enslavement that many women felt. Mina's example shows that, while the struggle to be one's self was not easy, it was possible given perseverance and fortitude. Mina signifies, in very strong terms, that women's success in this was imperative:

> You must remember that I am not as you are. There is poison in my blood, in my soul, which may destroy me; which must destroy me, unless some relief comes to us. Oh, my friends, you know as well as I do, that my soul is at stake; and though I know there is one way out for me, you must not and I must not take it!
>
> *D*, p. 286.

This plea could be directly transferred into a New Woman speech so aptly did it reflect the changes that needed to take place in Victorian society when the freedom of women's 'immortal spirit' was at stake (*D,* p. 286). As early as 1869, Boyd-Kinnear pointed out that:

> [men] know that in their straits they turn to women for sympathy, because women have understood their struggles; they seek women's counsel, because they know that women are intellectually fit to advise them; and they only affect contempt for female capacity because of the pitiful pride that refuses to acknowledge a capacity that in many things is on a level with their own, and, if in some things lower, in other things higher than theirs.
>
> In this is summed up the fatal error of the day in the position assigned to women. We disregard, even if we do not deny, the fact that they have souls as well as bodies, - souls not only to be saved, but to be cultivated, instructed, made fit to do what work God has

[53] Caird, *Marriage and Other Essays on the Status and Destiny of Women*, p. 99.
[54] Caird, *Marriage and Other Essays on the Status and Destiny of Women*, p. 100.

> assigned such souls to do on earth, as well as to grow meet for the nobler duties that may await them in heaven. Herein arises no question whether they are intellectually equal with the souls of men or not [...] and concede only this simple, this indisputable proposition, and it will guide us through our difficulties.[55]

The suggestion that women had long expected to be concerned with men's souls and that reciprocation was held back by men's 'pitiful pride' assumes new levels of urgency in *Dracula* as men's and women's 'souls are knit into one.' It was, and still is, imperative for their survival that both sexes adapt and evolve together.

Continuing the balance between modernity and tradition, Stoker highlights that the basic precepts of purity, a chaste and true wife, solace in religion and the hope of Eternal Life is dependent on the destruction of the predatory male, Dracula. Since Harker has linked this task with the redemption of his masculinity, his resolve takes on an introverted, more menacing, steely determination signified by preoccupation with his Kukri:

> Harker [...] is calm; his hands are as cold as ice, and an hour ago I found him whetting the edges of the great Ghurka knife which he now always carries with him. It will be a bad look out for the Count if the edge of that 'Kukri' ever touches his throat, driven by that stern, ice-cold hand.
>
> *D*, p. 291 & 292.

The success of the phallic Kukri and Jonathan's hopes are inextricably linked by Stoker, but his new man does not hunt and kill for pleasure; he has evolved from these basic instincts. Harker displays no excitement regarding the coming battle as the others do, rather his extremes of emotion, of loving and hatred, consume him. He has become a cold, calculating killer and hunter who will not rest until that which he values most is safe.

[55] Boyd-Kinnear, 'The Social Position of Women in the Present Age', in Butler, ed., *Woman's Work and Woman's Culture: A Series of Essays*, p. 355 & 356.

Harker's balance between ancient methods and modern manliness indicates that, in order to leave outdated modes of masculinity behind, man needed to be confident that he had done everything necessary to ensure that the future was secure. In line with her husband's changes, Mina pragmatically takes on a new and more serious role when she accepts 'a large bore revolver' in order to accord herself a modicum of defence in the absence of Holy protection; Stoker indicates that both sexes needed to evolve in synthesis (*D*, p. 308).

The denouement comes when Jonathan, impassioned, fights through to Dracula's coffin and, now fully manly under the Count's evil stare, dispatches him by slitting his throat with the Kukri. Meanwhile, Quincey Morris stabs his Bowie knife through the vampire's heart. In their impetuosity, they disregard the ritualistic destruction of a vampire, stipulated many times by Van Helsing, Stoker and Gerard.[56] Dracula turns to dust and disappears before their eyes. Since the Count has been seen travelling in mist and moon dust many times before, this does not clearly signify a complete annihilation of him. Mina states that 'there was such a look of peace, such as I never could have imagined might have rested there' (*D*, p. 325). This may be the realisation of her hopes that even the Count could find eternal peace or, it could signify his satisfaction that he has found his one love and that his blood, ingested by Mina, during the sanguine exchange, will still run in her veins and thus endure. However, his influence over Mina is ended, as is intimated by the disappearance of her scar, but whether this is the reward of her determination and fortitude or the result of Dracula's undoing is open to interpretation. If Mina can hold 'the secret belief that some of our brave friend [Quincey's] spirit has passed into [the boy]', then it follows that, with her even closer connection to Dracula, some of his blood could also pass into the boy (*D*, p. 326).

[56] Gerard, Transylvanian Superstitions', p. 142.

Stoker leaves his reader with the picture of perfect domestic bliss, husband and wife in harmony, and their progeny with the prospect of realising 'what a brave and gallant woman his mother is'. She chooses to relinquish her life of adventure to give 'sweetness and loving care' to their son and in this she sets the balance of their lives (*D*, p. 327). There is a strange phenomenon throughout the novel, of Jonathan displaying various signs of weakness while Mina is strong and holds the space of common sense and self control. This is also true in the reverse when Jonathan, bolstered both by his homosocial bonds with the Crew of Light and by his love and fear for his wife, redresses the balance by rescuing her as if she were the traditional damsel in distress; Stoker proposes that there was a need for equilibrium in order to sustain a successful marriage and that care needed to be taken to recognise and attend to this balance. Stoker suggests that, for a number of *fin-de-siècle* men, there had to be a correlation between their physical and mental prowess; once sure that his intellectual state was not under threat, man could seek parity between his physical and mental health. He could thus trust that the New Woman would not pose a threat to his masculinity, but would fulfil her position as a worthy helpmeet. For Stoker, the resultant product would have been a loving couple worthy of Victorian eugenics. It was the changing face of women's position in *fin-de-siècle* society that made man question his basic principles and attributes. A resolution to this problem was explored through Mina Harker as an acceptable New Woman figure who, having fought to be worthy of her positions, adapted as the challenges arose and emerged as a secure and happy female role model that combated many dominant discourse worries. In his exploration of Mina, Stoker encouraged women to become assured in themselves and in turn, to force the male to respond, reassess his own position and reinvent himself. Once both genders were in harmony with their respective positions they could form long and successful partnerships

which would be a credit to society and the future of their race. Stoker did, however, leave his reader with a sharp warning that woman were still an essential guardian against secret evils that may at any time emerge to threaten the equilibrium once more. Stoker encouraged *Fin-de-siècle* man into the secure knowledge that woman was still the attentive moral stronghold for society, but that there needed to be fluidity in gender definitions to enable society to evolve in a healthy, supportive and visionary way.

CHAPTER VI

INVESTIGATING MANIPULATIONS OF MARRIAGE

> ***'O mother, my mother!' [...] 'How could I be expected to know? I was a child when I left this house four months ago. Why didn't you warn me there was a danger in men-folk? Why didn't you warn me? [...] I never had a chance o' learning [...] and you did not help me!'***[1]

While the Sherlock Holmes stories are not, in the main, regarded as studies of marriage, they do contain a large number of tales which explore the evolution and equilibrium of marital relationships. Taken as a whole, the canon presents a heterogeneous perspective on modes of masculinity which surrounded this institution. Conan Doyle utilises the Holmes tales to present his readers with clear warnings of immoral, villainous activities, both within and around the married state, and to probe the multifarious ways in which a man could attempt to corrupt marriage practices. The tales illustrate how *fin-de-siècle* women could be duped and mistreated by men with whom they come in contact and how, in many cases, circumstances surrounding the institution of marriage could be misinterpreted, manipulated and warped to answer the needs of the man in question.

Women at the mercy of hegemonic patriarchal practices were often effectually unprotected and unprepared for the nefarious procedures some men were willing to stoop to in an attempt to retain their ascendency over marriageable females. From the eighteenth-century Squire, Mr. B., in Richardson's *Pamela*, to the nineteenth-century Alex D'Urberville, women in novels were manipulated with insouciant suggestions of marriage

[1] Thomas Hardy, *Tess of the Durbervilles* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1928), p. 106.

in attempts to satiate the desires of men.[2] By the *fin de siècle*, there was a general realisation that social attitudes and restrictions contributory to female social instability had to change; as discussed in chapter IV, New Women authors explored paths to improving the situation and in response male authors simultaneously began to do the same. The idea that 'sexual licence among men was, and always had been, universal' became extremely contentious in the wake of the Contagious Diseases Acts Campaigns.[3] A willingness, in male authors, to investigate the ability of transgressional male characters to 'violate and subvert all of the society's most potent and social norms, to break all the bourgeois rules of sexual and social conduct', began to emerge as a trope in a limited selection of literature of the era. [4] Works such as: *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, *Ghosts*, *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and *The Picture of Dorian Grey* show a willingness to explore wrongful masculine conduct and its repercussions.[5] Ibsen and Hardy, in particular, examined how these male transgressions affected women within and around marriage. Conan Doyle includes, in his Holmes stories, a succession of these offending males to illustrate the minefield marriageable women had to negotiate and he offers a fulcrum for change by juxtaposing his heroes' positive qualities against those of the transgressors to investigate equitable solutions.

Holmes is utilised as an upright, trustworthy, manly figure to whom women can safely turn in their hour of need. As he proclaims, 'love is an emotional thing, and

[2] Richardson, *Pamela*.
Hardy, *Tess of the Durbervilles*.
[3] Phillip Mallett, 'Woman and Marriage in Victorian Society', p. 177.
[4] Showalter, 'Syphilis, Sexuality, and the Fiction of the Fin de Siècle', in Lyn Pykett, ed., *Reading Fin-de-Siècle Fiction* (London: Longman, 1996), p. 168.
[5] Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Strange case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde and Other Strange Tales* (London: Acturus Publishing Limited, 2009); Henrik Ibsen, *Ghosts* in *Famous Four Plays* (Mumbai: Wilco, 2009), pp. 93-172; Thomas Hardy, *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1926); Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Grey* in *The Collected Works of Oscar Wilde*.

whatever is emotional is opposed to that true cold reason which I place above all things. I should never marry myself, lest I bias my judgement', he forms no affiliation with any woman and is placed in the position of impartial observer.[6] He indicates a strong admiration for Irene Adler, his adversary in 'A Scandal in Bohemia', who is accorded the peculiar honour of being the 'one woman to him' and who, despite her dubious social standing, 'eclipse[d] and predominate[d] the whole of her sex'. These feelings, however, are not intended as either emotional or sexual, but are fashioned by his delight in her cerebral abilities and the challenge these present to him. [7] Watson, from his more objective viewpoint, defines Holmes's feelings in this regard:

> It was not that he felt any emotion akin to love for Irene Adler. All emotions, and that one particularly, were abhorrent to his cold, precise, but admirably balanced mind. He was, I take it, the most perfect reasoning and observing machine that the world has ever seen: but, as a lover, he would have placed himself in a false position. He never spoke of the softer passions, save with a jibe and a sneer. They were admirable things for the observer – excellent for drawing the veil from men's motives and actions. But for the trained reasoner to admit such intrusions into his own delicate and finely adjusted temperament was to introduce a distracting factor which might throw a doubt upon all his mental results. Grit in a sensitive instrument, or a crack in one of his own high-power lenses, would not be more disturbing than a strong emotion in a nature such as his.
>
> 'Scandal', 117.

In Holmes's reactions to Adler and the 'softer passions', Conan Doyle set the most important attribute for a woman and aligned Holmes as a man for whom scientific reason superseded all emotion. As Wilde put it: 'the advantage of the emotions is that they lead us astray, and the advantage of science is that it is not emotional'; Holmes regulates himself through affiliation to science.[8] The disturbance which can be caused between rational and emotional thought is explored in H.G. Wells novel, *Marriage*, where the hero, Trafford, a

[6] Conan Doyle, *The Sign of Four*, in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 113.
[7] Conan Doyle, 'A Scandal in Bohemia', in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 117.
[8] Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*.

physicist of ground-breaking genius with the promise of a sparkling career ahead of him, falls in love with and marries a former student.[9] His love for Marjorie Pope and his domestic trials prove to be a serious distraction from his work and his promising research is taken up by another less able scientist.[10] For Victorians at the forefront of scientific discovery, emotional distractions were something the man of science and reasoning must be free from in order to accomplish his best work and to pursue perfection; a scientist needed to eschew certain aspects of life open to other men, such as marriage, in order to protect the very particular form of cerebral manliness he had chosen to represent. Valerie Sanders explains that Roper and Tosh 'have [...] defined the meaning of manliness between 1840 and 1930 as encompassing moral courage, sexual purity, athleticism and stoicism', and that 'masculinity is never fully possessed, but must perpetually be achieved, asserted, and renegotiated'.[11] Holmes's self-definition helps him to renegotiate these attributes by detaching himself from normal social expectations, mostly successfully, and, by extrapolation, he perceives female companionship as destructive to his masculine reasoning powers. This, however, would not have been a sustainable general position for the reproduction of the species – a fact that Conan Doyle makes clear by Holmes's uniqueness. The detective's ability to remain in control at all times allows him to maintain his position as a detached, deductive force: Conan Doyle thus places Holmes in an ideal situation to investigate each case objectively and to rescue the damsel in distress by bringing the culprit to book. This outlook is balanced by the more sympathetic approach of the married Watson, thus presenting women clients and, by extension, the reader, with a stalwartly upright pair in whom they can find both solace and champions of right.

[9] H. G. Wells, *Marriage* (London: Collins, 1912).
[10] Wells, *Marriage*.
[11] Michael Roper and John Tosh, eds., *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 4, 17 & 18, as quoted in Valerie Sanders, *Eve's Renegades: Victorian Anti-Feminist Women Novelists*, p. 95.

An insight into what Conan Doyle saw as correct, manly marriage practices is shown in his handling of Watson's marital bliss. Although the fictional doctor is obviously in love, his marriage is, from the outset, an odd relationship which in many ways paralleled Conan Doyle's own lack of revelations regarding his first wife: what Diana Barsham calls 'obviously haunted silences' in Conan Doyle's relationships with the women in his life.[12] Watson meets Mary Morstan through the case of *The Sign of Four* in circumstances surrounding the death of her father and, between their meeting in the morning to their parting when he sees her home at night, he falls head-over-heels in love with her.[13] Conan Doyle, similarly, met his first wife through the treatment and death of her brother. Although he called her by the pet name 'Touie', she is, oddly, never named in his autobiography except as 'the daughter' of Mrs Hawkins or by the proprietorial epithet 'my wife'.[14] They seem to have also married very quickly despite her mourning, which is never alluded to in Conan Doyle's own writing, although he does stress that 'no man could have had a more gentle and amiable life's companion' (*M & A*, 48). While this may sound bland to a modern reader, it was probably quite a strong public statement for a reserved Victorian male.

Once married and set up in their own home, Mrs Watson seems equally amiable and gentle as she does not appear to have any objections to her husband deserting her to pursue his adventures with his previous housemate. Elaine Showalter, in her book *Hystories*, says that in the 1880s 'the preferred treatment for neurasthenia was travel,

[12] Diana Barsham, *Conan Doyle and the Meaning of Masculinity*, p. 12.
[13] Conan Doyle, *The Sign of Four* in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes* pp. 64-113.
[14] Barsham, *Conan Doyle and the Meaning of Masculinity*, p. 12, and Conan Doyle, *Memories and Adventures and Western Wanderings* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), pp. 48 & 68.

adventure, vigorous physical exercise' and this seems to be the path Watson pursues.[15] Perhaps his wife, knowing the history of his experiences in Afghanistan, intuits this and supports his partnership with Holmes as a method of fending off the threat of neurasthenia. In 'The Man with the Twisted Lip', although the tale begins with Watson helping his wife's friend over her missing husband, as soon as he meets Holmes he unceremoniously sticks the errant husband in a cab and commits himself to his friend's latest adventure.[16] When Holmes 'recommends' him 'to send a note by the cabman to your wife to say that you have thrown in your lot with me', he immediately complies as he 'could not wish anything better than to be associated with [his] friend in one of those singular adventures which were the normal condition of his existence' (both 'Twisted Lip', p. 217). Analogous with this was Conan Doyle's *penchant* for adventure: he tried for work as a war correspondent in France; despite travelling to Switzerland for his wife's health, he left her to go to America; in 1896, he left her in Cairo in order to accompany the army during Kitchener's campaign at Dongola and in 1900, while his wife was in Naples for her health, he went off to the Boer War as a surgeon (*M & A*, pp.85, 95 & 111). It would seem that, for the continuation of their manly practices, certain men found it a necessity to chase adventure while their wives remained behind, thus perpetuating a clear gender distinction of spheres that were not, as yet, able to be crossed. From Conan Doyle's autobiography, it would seem he saw this as a normal practice and, as long as there was a convenient female relative to accompany his wife, he had no qualms about departing on these manly sojourns. Barsham thinks that 'Conan Doyle's adventures begin to link him with the needs of the British Empire rather than those of his wife', and this behaviour mirrors the many

[15] Showalter, *Hystories: Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Culture*, p. 66. (A more detailed explanation of Dr. Watson's military history and its consequences can be found in Chapter III of this thesis.)
[16] Conan Doyle, 'The Man with the Twisted Lip' in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, pp. 186-200.

instances where Watson's desire for adventuring with Holmes overrides consideration for his wife.[17]

The sentiment of the sweet wife in her homely sphere while the intrepid husband ventures forth in search of action was very much at odds with the growing *fin-de-siècle* female vision of an equal partnership. Ruskin's ideas that 'woman was made to be the 'helpmate of man'; that a man could not be helped 'effectively by a shadow'' along with the opinion that 'each completes the other, and is completed by the other [...] and the happiness and perfection of both depends on each asking and receiving from the other what the other only can give', provided a basis for moving forward with consideration of the needs of both partners.[18] The importance of an equal, supportive partnership was entering the discursive arenas of both dominant and reverse discourses. The beginning of changes towards this could be seen in Conan Doyle's own life through his second marriage, but not in that of his fictional character perhaps suggesting that, while meeting these changes himself, the author did not feel that his public were fully ready to embrace equality. While Conan Doyle's second wife, Jean, was clearly the companion and equal partner of his later years, the second Mrs Watson, the first having passed away during Holmes's disappearance, is almost dismissed in a passing mention from Holmes in 1903: 'the good Watson had at that time deserted me for a wife, the only selfish action which I can recall in our association' (*M & A*, p. 158; 'Empty House', p. 463 & 'Blanched Soldier', p. 965). Holmes's use of the word 'selfish' petulantly informs his expectations of Watson's loyalty while suggesting that, like Conan Doyle, Watson's second marriage may have been more of an equal partnership as, unusually, he places his wife before his

[17] Barsham, *Conan Doyle and the Meaning of Masculinity*, p. 19.
[18] John Ruskin, *The Crown of Wild Olive* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1904), as quoted in Mallett, "Women and Marriage in Victorian Society", p. 160.

adventures with Holmes. However, despite this possibility, the second Mrs Watson does not warrant a mention anywhere by her husband, leaving the reader to ponder on the anomaly.

A modern interpretation may notice a reluctance to address flaws, potential or real, in the marriages of both author and character which highlights that the gender balance of *fin-de-siècle* marriages had not reached actualisation. The masculine search for constant adventure force author and character into silence regarding their own arrangements, but leaves them feeling able to probe those of others. It is within this space between the silences surrounding Conan Doyle, Watson and Holmes's shortcomings regarding female relationships that the investigations of distorted moral, social and gendered roles within marriage lie; women's hopes and expectations are probed and measured through lax, and often nefarious, practices of their men folk. These are the practices Holmes investigates as he uses his considerable skills to enable women to access a degree of choice when pursuing their future happiness and which, in turn, allows Conan Doyle to explore the masculinities that would deny them this.

H. G. Wells creates an excellent metaphor for women's hopes as to the possibilities of the married state as Trafford describes the elusive appeal of science within which readers can find clear parallels with the quicksilver aspects of love and marriage and man's need to intuit these:

> The sense one has of the exquisite and wonderful rhythms – just beyond sound and sight! And there's a taunting suggestion of its

> being all there, displayed and confessed, if only one were quick enough to see it.[19]

Atoms, like lovers, are attracted by and move around each other in a tantalising manner which awaits exploration to understand their full potential, but this requires serious application in order to attempt to harness the possibilities within the relationship. This fitted with contemporary thought that 'the New Woman [...] takes the form which a concourse of atoms, intangible at present, to many as colour or sound, must take – i.e. that of the personality through whom she is viewed'; the New Woman needs an equal and understanding partner to appreciate the distribution of her 'atoms'.[20] Wells further emphasises the need to understand flexibilities which the altered state of marriage must necessarily evince to both elements and explains that if one element changes, the other must follow for a successful outcome:

> when you change the composition of a felspar almost imperceptibly, do the angles change? What's the correspondence between the altered angles and the corresponding atom? Why does this bit of clear stuff swing the ray of light out of its path, and that swing it more? Then what happens when the crystals gutter down and go into solution. The endless launching of innumerable little craft. Think what a clear solution must be if only one had ultramicroscopic eyes and could see into it, see the extraordinary patternings, the swimming circling constellations. And then the path of a ray of polarised light beating through it! It takes me like music.[21]

In relating Trafford's words to matrimony, the delicate balance of the effect of one body upon another is emphasised along with the drawbacks to the 'innumerable little craft' launched unsuspectingly into the marriage market. The need to scrutinise more closely the inner wonders of two souls 'circling' each other could have led to heights only previously

[19] Wells, *Marriage*, p. 96.
[20] Nat Arling, 'What is the Role of the "New Woman"?', *Westminster Review*, 150:5 (November 1898), p. 576.
[21] Wells, *Marriage*, p. 96.

dreamed of where 'the whole world was fire and crystal and aquiver'.[22] The Holmes stories investigate what happens when this balance fails to materialise or is disrupted when both sexes neglect to access the 'ray of polarised light.'

'The Man with the Twisted Lip' depicts the dichotomy of a man who attempts to warp this balance as he is torn between false performance and economic comfort, both in his marriage and in actuality. Distorted silences and deformities surrounding the relationship of Mr and Mrs Neville St Clair are hinted at in the title of the tale; the combined metaphors of the falling building bricks and St Clair's abandoned, empty clothing reinforces the trope that all this couple have constructed is in danger of being rent asunder and left empty. In his masquerade as the beggar, Boone, St Clair not only deconstructs his own manliness, but reinvents himself as 'a crippled wretch with hideous aspect' and becomes a creature with no clearly gendered purpose in life ('Twisted Lip', p. 219). Abandoning the 'arduous work' in a respectable profession, he is enticed by financial gain to live a double life alternating between his two personae, taking to his unheroic 'adventures' as the popular beggar during the day and aspiring to the life of a country gentleman, husband and father in his leisure hours ('Twisted Lip', pp. 228 & 227). The underlying suggestion that the roles of husband and father are the calm and stable constituents behind a life of adventure again mirrors the dual natures of the personal lives of Conan Doyle and Watson. Like St Clair / Boone, they participate in complex activities in their time away from home, but conform to the required roles upon their return completely failing to consider their positions as anomalous. It is unlikely that Conan Doyle intended this comparison, but it is nevertheless there for the reader to make the connection.

[22] Wells, *Marriage*, p. 96.

The dichotomy between adventuring and domesticity is explored by John Tosh who says that adventure stories of the time such as those written by 'Stevenson and Rider Haggard aimed to provide adults with something heroic, exotic and bracingly masculine. Their heroes are [...] distinguished by their daring and resourcefulness [and...] set off into the unknown to fulfil their destiny unencumbered by feminine constraint or by emotional ties with the home'.[23] In Boone's case, however, the dichotomy is paradoxically magnified. His assumed role is socially bereft in both position and masculine self-pride and poses an actual risk to his family. The notion that he has killed himself metaphorically describes the detrimental effect of consciously choosing to use intelligence and talents to follow a lucrative path knowing it to be not only wrong, but a distinct compromise of every manly trait surrounding the execution of social and marital expectations. Boone's unhealthy desire for easy wealth links him with decadent corruption; this link is elucidated by Lord Henry Wotton:

> The only way to get rid of temptation is to yield to it. Resist it and your soul grows sick with longing for the things it has forbidden to itself, with desire for what its monstrous laws have made monstrous and unlawful.[24]

Neville St Clair has done exactly this, positioning himself in the realm of the monstrous and unlawful. Boone's choice of criminal outcasts as accomplices to cover his begging adds further confusion to the boundaries of his social and marital roles and enter him into the world of venal criminality where he is willing 'to give himself in return for some reward without regard for higher principles'.[25] Rosemary Jann posits that

[23] Tosh, *A Man's Place: masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, p. 174.
[24] Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*.
[25] http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/222033?rskey=9g7XJG&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid (accessed 27/1/2009)

> The "individuality" of clients and criminals is equally subjected to specifying codes, codes that in turn assume the existence of fixed behavioural types.[26]

By daily relinquishing the codes of gentlemanly conduct in favour of those of the criminal underworld, St Clair not only denies his manliness, but also places the security of his wife and children in jeopardy. Leo Baudy, also discussing acceptability within the social order, points out that, in his roles of 'the amateur and outsider', Holmes is enabled to make 'both identity and honour individual again', but he has to follow conventional codes to banish Boone and reinstate the respectably-married St Clair.[27] Full interaction with the criminal element leads to confusion in the diverse 'fixed behavioural types' of Boone / St Clair as respectable masculinity is denied St Clair and he becomes trapped within the incarcerated Boone. Described by Leo Braudy as 'triumphing in disguise although depleted in actuality', St Clair is left in limbo 'between the world of respectability and the world of crime' in a kind of Jekyll and Hyde existence, which, like Dr Jekyll's secret transformations, leaves him no feasible solution that would not damage his manly standing and respectability within his family.[28]

Fortunately for St Clair, his wife is an independent woman who handles her own affairs and is confident enough to travel to London on her own in order to arrange them without prior reference to her husband. She also has the fortitude to rush into the opium den on thinking her husband to be in danger. Like Stoker's Mina, her first thought is for her partner's safety, not her own. Also in keeping with Mina, she is 'not hysterical, nor

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[26] Rosemary Jann, 'Sherlock Holmes Codes the Social Body', *EHL*, Vol. 57, No. 3 (Autumn, 1990), p. 687.
[27] Leo Braudy, *From Chivalry to Terrorism: War and the Changing Nature of Masculinity* (New York: Vintage, 2003), p. 313.
[28] Braudy, *From Chivalry to Terrorism: War and the Changing Nature of Masculinity*, p. 315.
Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, pp.9-56.

given to fainting' and is comfortable dealing with both the police and the private detectives ('Twisted Lip', p. 222). While endowing her with courage and independence, Conan Doyle still makes Mrs St Clair 'the symbolic keeper of morality and decency within the home' as she uncovers her husband's secret and enables the restoration of his manly position both within their family and in society.[29] In addressing the dangers to stable marriage posed by irresponsible men, and allowing the correction of this by a resourceful woman, Conan Doyle challenges the ideals of male 'personal hegemony' and 'virile self-assertion'.[30] While Conan Doyle maintains the woman's role as moral guardian, Mrs St Clair is far removed from Grand's Edith Beale; Conan Doyle encourages women to use their intelligence and independence to overcome scoundrel-like tendencies in men. In Conan Doyle's tales there is, however, no physically infective disease that Boone would visit on his wife and offspring; any possible contamination is handled by Holmes as guardian of right. Elaine Showalter states that 'by the end of the [nineteenth] century, the imaginative worlds of male and female writers had become radically separate', but the gap is not as wide as Showalter would make it out to be.[31] Angelique Richardson shows a movement from previous feminist ideas which mainly sought to attack the male viewpoint. In her introduction as editor of a collection of *fin-de-siècle* stories, she states that:

> By including stories by men, *Women Who Did* testifies to male interest in the Woman Question, and suggests that points of view on the various roles, rules and freedom could not be predicted or explained absolutely along lines of sex.[32]

This emerging idea informs the Holmes tales as Conan Doyle addresses a variety of deviant behaviours within his male characters and, while not gifting women with all the

[29] Susan M Cruea, 'Changing Ideals of Womanhood During the Nineteenth-Century Woman Movement', *American Transcendental Quarterly*, Vol. 19, Issue 3 (September 2005), p. 187.
[30] Allen, *The Woman Who Did*, p.64.
[31] Showalter, 'Syphilis, Sexuality, and the Fiction of the *Fin de Siècle',* p. 167.
[32] Richardson, *Women Who Did*, p. xl.

freedoms they themselves demanded, he did recognise a need to explore female characters who possessed levels of intelligence, independence and bravery hitherto inadmissible.

The twisted minds of those who erroneously view their manly position as violent and domineering are investigated in 'The Speckled Band' and 'The Solitary Cyclist', where Conan Doyle examins the dangers that can befall a woman about to inherit a substantial sum of money.[33] These tales address the needs and desires of men who see their own craving for money and position as the driving force in their lives, distorting the marriage market in their search for rich, vulnerable women who can finance their lifestyles. In the wake of the Married Women's Property Acts, this became more difficult as women retained control of their own wealth. In the Holmes tales, Conan Doyle recognises that some men would still attempt unscrupulous means to attain their desires, in defiance of the law, by employing violent masculine traits to distort the path of marriage. In doing this, they sacrifice not only the safety and well-being of women, but also their own moral courage. These men put masculinity at risk as

> they [had] forgotten the highest of all duties, the duty that one owes to one's self. [...] Courage has gone out of our race. Perhaps we never really had it. Terror of society, which is the basis of morals, the terror of God, which is the secret of religion – these are the two things that govern us. And yet -—

Both Jack Woodley and Grimesby Roylott fulfil the hanging suggestion of 'and yet', dismissing morals and duty from their lives to pursue their own selfish voracity. This precludes them from having any qualms of conscience while usurping social conventions surrounding marriage in order to misappropriate the inheritances of their female victims. The potential independence of his step- daughters to choose their own husbands, and thus

[33] Conan Doyle, 'The Speckled Band' and 'The Solitary Cyclist', in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, pp. 214-229 & 599-612.

to take control of their own money, threatens the ability of Dr. Roylott to maintain any visible patriarchal presence within the remnants of a once-proud family seat. In keeping with Dracula's inherited estate, his stately home is crumbling and his neighbours have shunned him as a result of his violent behaviour towards them. Roylott is presented as an example of fallen aristocracy suffering, as he does, from a hereditary violent 'temper approaching to mania' exacerbated by his time in India ('Speckled Band', p. 244). This genetic defect which, by its association with India is likely to have syphilitic connotations, alienates him from his neighbours as well as detracting from the name of 'one of the oldest Saxon families in England': the 'Roylotts of Stoke Moran' ('Speckled Band', p. 243). Grimesby Roylott has exacerbated his disgrace in a number of public brawls and arrests. He is further aligned with Dracula in his affiliation with gipsies and control over powerful, dangerous animals; this emphasises the incongruity between his practices and customary manly conventions within English society. Also in keeping with Stoker's anti-hero, Roylott is highly intelligent and wily, using an ingenious, seemingly undetectable method to insinuate his evil purpose into his victims' room and inflict a bite which would mysteriously cause their death. As the last of his line and excluded from reproducing damaged heirs, his own self-survival is at stake. Like Dracula, he will prey on the lives of the children he is bound by decency to care for. The ability of Roylott's step-children, the Stoner twins, to choose their own marriage partners, and to therefore deprive their patriarch of a large proportion of his income, becomes a dangerous situation he cannot contemplate. He has no 'terror of society', has completely lost touch with any 'terror of God' and embarked on a course which was both 'monstrous and unlawful'. Secure in his own manliness, Holmes refuses to succumb to Roylott's bullying and remains objective. Using his skills of detection to outwit Roylott, Holmes hoists him by his own *petard*, ending the diseased Roylott line and allowing Helen Stoner a joyful future.

Jack Woodley is portrayed from the outset as being monstrous and having a total contempt for the law; the first words used to describe him are 'odious' and 'hateful'. His physical portrayal with his mane of red hair, gives the reader the sense of a leonine, animalistic 'ruffian' from the colonies. Violet Smith describes him as 'slinking', suggesting a ferocious beast creeping up on its prey, and says she 'would sooner have a wild animal loose about the place' insinuating that this type of man is more degenerate than a savage beast as she intuits the evil within him ('Solitary Cyclist', pp. 503 & 508). His motivation in marrying Violet to enable him to get his hands on the inheritance left by her uncle, is nothing more than a brutish means to an end; his mercenary purpose is underlined by his having 'played cards for her on the voyage' from Africa ('Solitary Cyclist', p 512). Woodley's whole attitude towards Violet Smith follows Nat Arling's theory that

> manliness is too often confounded with mere brute strength, brute courage (which is not the highest), self assertion, independence of character (too often another word for selfishness), and lack of consideration for the feelings and ways of others.[34]

It becomes increasingly obvious that Woodley's ideas are 'confounded' in this way as he relies on his 'brute strength' and 'self-assertion' in an attempt to bring his plans to fruition. In this proprietorial frame of mind, he kidnaps Violet, compels her into a forced marriage, described by Holmes as 'the worst fate that can befall a woman', with the complicity of the defrocked, 'blackguard parson', Williamson ('Solitary Cyclist', pp. 510 & 509). As 'the man behind works whose reassuring propaganda on behalf of British manhood was their most influential quality', Conan Doyle gives strong examples of deviant manliness and

[34] Arling, 'What is the Role of the "New Woman"?', p. 581.

leaves his reader with no doubts that aberrance would meet with stiff resistance from his heroes and suggests that they should be similarly met by society as a whole.[35]

Sherlock Holmes's intervention and condemnation of both Roylott and Woodley allow Conan Doyle to alert his readers that there was still the potential for these practices to continue. Holmes's comment on forced marriage emphasises the importance Conan Doyle placed on freedom of choice for *fin-de-siècle* women and censures forms of masculinity that would refuse this. The paces of the two cases indicate that different tactics were necessary to deal with divergent, deviant masculinity. For the evil, calculating male who laid his plans carefully, an equally cunning, stealthy approach brings results. In the case of the brutal male, Holmes utilises Watson as a stalker to identify his prey, almost misses it, but moves extremely quickly to close in and capture his quarry. Holmes exemplifies the prototypical male who uses his intellect as his main tool, but balances this with manly courage. The suggestion is that the urban male should still maintain aspects indicative of traditional manliness, harmonising intellectual power with physical fitness to actualise the form of masculinity Conan Doyle saw as sympathetic to women's evolving relationship with male hegemony.

Both the above tales highlight problems that could arise when independent, and insufficiently protected, young ladies inherited money of their own. Following the Married Women's Property Act of 1882, men were no longer allowed to control their wife's assets. This was a political response to 'justifications for male authority in marriage […] being

[35] Barsham, *Conan Doyle and the Meaning of Masculinity*, p. 11.

undermined by a growing awareness that men were abusing this authority' and, while Conan Doyle allowed that the women should have clear entitlement to these resources, he warned that there were unscrupulous men who would still attempt a reversion to pre-1882 ideas.[36] Sherlock Holmes shows a strong and belligerent opposition to this treatment, demonstrating to this unsavoury style of masculinity the refusal of a true English gentleman to accept any form of intimidation tactics. Conan Doyle also warned his reading public that continued awareness and action was needed to combat such nefarious practices.

While Holmes is a formidable adversary for both these antagonists, he is exhibited as the protector and advisor of women who have no male to turn to in their hour of need. Conan Doyle indicates that while women may have been able to survive financially, when threatened they lacked the nuance to intuit dangers without the counsel of a suitable male. Both Helen Stoner and Violet Smith need Holmes to 'see deeply into the manifold wickedness of the human heart' ('Speckled Band', p. 243). This directly contrasts with New Women writers, such as Grand, who portrayed women as the gender who could see behind the facade men appropriated in order to cover their sins. This disparity is highlighted when Evadne of *The Heavenly Twins* correctly interprets the posturing of males as a cover for their licentious behaviour and is scorned by all around her. She is, however, vindicated when others suffered the consequences of male degeneration. Paradoxically, when Holmes advises Violet Hunter that the position she is considering is 'not the situation [he] should like to see a sister of [his] apply for', she ignores him to her detriment and he is proved right.[37] Conan Doyle's attitudes would seem to have been more conservative than Grand's, but while he did not preclude female autonomy, his readers

[36] Ben Griffin, 'Class, Gender, and Liberalism in Parliament, 1886 – 1882: The Case of the Married Women's Property Acts', *The Historic Journal*, 46, 1 (2003), p. 61.
[37] Conan Doyle, 'The Copper Beeches' in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 276.

would have seen Holmes as a knowledgeable guiding hand for his female clients. Conan Doyle did, however, allow Holmes to distinguish between women he saw as suited for marriage and those who possessed the necessary attributes to attain successful independence. This served to reassure the dominant discourse that there would always be women who chose to marry and those who did not, but that the freedom to choose had to apply to men and women alike. Both Miss Stoner and Miss Smith took the path of accepting traditional marriage, but Miss Hunter, whose courage and fortitude eventually impresses Holmes so much that Watson, ever the optimist, hopes it might go further, retains her independence to become 'the head of a private school' where 'she [...] met with considerable success' ('Copper Beeches', p. 313). Violet Hunter proves able to face danger, redeems herself from ignoring Holmes's initial warning and plays a significant part outwitting a 'very cunning man' in the dangerous rescue of the 'poor creature' that was Alice Ruecastle ('Copper Beeches', p. 311). Unable to summon the necessary fortitude for independence, Alice is bullied by a patriarch who perpetuates nefarious practices. The unstable balance of Mr. Ruecastle's mind is mirrored in the behaviour of his son, who is 'utterly spoilt and [...] ill-natured' and whose 'whole life appear[ed] to be spent in an alternation between savage fits of passion and gloomy intervals of sulking. Giving pain to any creature weaker than himself seem[ed] to be his one idea of amusement'. The correlation between the acts of father and son exhibit what each regard as suitable male behaviour as the father considers his child to be 'a dear little romper' and almost hysterically delights in his violence towards other creatures. The eugenic balance of a weak mother and warped, cruel father do not bode well for the continuation of this familial line and, in the space between the noisy drawing room and the silent attic, there develops a need for Alice to escape from this unbalanced family. The metaphoric suggestion within her father's name chillingly indicates what may have happened should Alice remain and

consequently rue her inability to resist confinement within the patriarchal castle. Violet, by placing herself in danger and bravely helping to rescue Alice Ruecastle, is thus awarded a position in which she could be a woman

> with a strong sense of her own importance, usefulness, and responsibility, [who] longs to strengthen the cause of right and justice, to make head against evil, to help the fallen, to raise her own sex to the highest level it can attain, and the other to a nobler ideal, which in an age of money-making is hampering with low aims and luxurious tastes.[38]

Having proved her suitability, she is permitted to build a respectable career for herself in which she can utilise her talents to help equip many other young girls build a better future. Conan Doyle thus shows the significance of using the strongest and bravest women to educate and improve the next generation.

In his stories which relate to marriage, Conan Doyle shows that the *status quo* should not be taken for granted and that unacceptable practices had to be challenged. In this way,

> while Holmes and Watson offer the reassurances of a moral order within the very structures of the English language, they do so in the name of a manhood which requires a relentless policing of its own criminal shadows.[39]

A close reading of the Holmes stories show not just a pair of heroes fighting criminal spectres, but also addressing many examples of shadowy behaviour that undermined social progression. Conan Doyle showcased marriage as being one of the main social issues that still demonstrated a glaring gender imbalance caused, in the main, by deviant masculinity

[38] Arling, 'What is the Role of the "New Woman"?', p. 576.
[39] Barsham, *Conan Doyle and the Meaning of Masculinity*, p. 3.

and overprotected, undereducated women. This condition fell substantially short of the standards he set for both himself and his valiant detective partnership. However, it was not enough to merely police the detrimental element; the stories aimed to engender change in general acceptability of these practices and thus,

> as part of their unofficial policing of British manhood, [Holmes, Watson and Conan Doyle] ingeniously silence the articulation of the forbidden materials of masculine fantasy.[40]

The examples of St Clair, Roylott, Woodley and Ruecastle accentuated warped perspectives which threatened the integrity of the married state and underlined the need for constant 'policing' to ensure that 'the national determinants of masculinity' were upheld for the benefit of both sexes.[41] However, while granting a modicum of modernity to the women in his stories, Conan Doyle allowed only a meagre few to be deemed as suitable for a life that did not include traditional marriage. The Holmes canon, while perhaps not completely reaching Butler's goal to bring to an end 'outrage[s] on the sacred rights of womanhood', did endorse the need for freedom of choice and for love and companionship within the married state. In this way, Conan Doyle went a substantial distance towards the position envisaged by New Woman writers.[42]

[40] Barsham, *Conan Doyle and the Meaning of Masculinity*, p. 3.
[41] Barsham, *Conan Doyle and the Meaning of Masculinity*, p. 5.
[42] Butler, *Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade*, p. 80.

Section 3
Society

CHAPTER VII

RESISTING ACQUIESCENCE

Be bloody, bold, and resolute.[1]

> I have [...] come to regard as almost axiomatic, that the women of no race or class will ever rise in revolt or attempt to bring about a revolutionary readjustment of their relation to their society, however intense their suffering and however clear their perception of it, while the welfare and persistence of their society requires their submission: that, wherever there is a general attempt on the part of the women in any society to readjust their position in it, a close analysis will always show that the changed or changing conditions of that society have made woman's acquiescence no longer necessary or desirable.[2]

Schreiner's summation of the reluctance with which women will seek change brings in to sharp focus their position in *fin-de-siècle* society where many were trapped within societal situations to which they could no longer acquiesce. As many critics have noted, moves to realign marriage values prompted women to question their roles not only within marriage, but also within a wider social sphere that would allow them autonomy to explore diverse opportunities. This questioning, and the realisation that there were options open to them, led increasing numbers of women into varying levels of resistance against simply acquiescing to traditional societal expectations. The Woman Question opened a broad debate regarding life choices women could seek out either apart from or alongside marriage - aspiring to these choices made it imperative that the New Woman could craft a role that was not dependent on selling herself to the highest bidder in the marriage market. Legislation surrounding women's legal standing, such as the Married Women's Property

[1] William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act 4, Scene 1, L.79 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 68.
[2] Olive Schreiner, *Women and Labour* (London: Virago, 1978), p. 14.

Acts of 1870 and 1882 and - after a female-spearheaded campaign - the suspension of the Contagious Diseases Act in 1883, forced Victorian society to address changing conditions which had faced resistance from many quarters.[3] Numerous women in disparate circumstances were confused regarding how they could emulate the New Woman while living their lives under the scrutiny of a society that was ready to criticise their every move. They needed significant heroines who would explore the practicalities of a revolution in their social standing and who, to some extent, they could emulate. New Woman authors hoped to help their sisters by providing these heroines to guide the way to self-realisation, greater personal freedoms and to offer alternatives to acquiescence.

It was not an easy transition between convention and the freedom to be oneself and fulfil one's potential in *fin-de-siècle* androcentric society. Women met with limited success in their attempts as the gap in social freedom between the sexes formed a gulf that many did not have the wherewithal to cross. Michael Kimmel says that:

> for some of us, becoming adult men and women in [...] society is a smooth and almost effortless drifting into behaviours and attitudes that feel as familiar as our own skin. And for others of us, becoming masculine or feminine is an interminable torture, a nightmare in which we must brutally suppress some part of ourselves to please others – or, simply, to survive.[4]

Written in 2000, this is a view of gender problems facing a modern individual in society with a more open outlook and forum for discussion. At the *fin de siècle*, without the freedom of speech and human rights many modern societies have come to rely on, it was very difficult for women to move into a sphere where they could find some escape from the nightmare of suppression and find the autonomy to explore self-realisation. Numerous

[3] Gail Marshall, *Victorian Fiction* (London: Arnold, 2002), pp. 146-147.
[4] Kimmel, *The Gendered Society*, p. 94.

literary heroines attempted to find a space that was uniquely theirs, but this proved a significant struggle for most, especially as, in the majority of cases, they were treading unfamiliar paths which highlighted their isolation. In an article on Kate Chopin's *The Awakening*, Dieter Schultz argues that:

> The ending of Chopin's *The Awakening* signals Edna Pontellier's failure to resolve the conflict between her urge towards self-realisation and the constricting conventions of society.[5]

This conflict informed much of the New Woman fiction written in the *fin de siècle.* The tension between failure and success on either personal or social levels created a serious dichotomy for many authors, and their characters, caught between traditional expectations and the desire for self-realisation. Pioneering women became aware that life held more for them than marriage and childbirth and began to resist these in order to free themselves from constrictions surrounding their positions. As Sarah Grand said:

> The modern woman is not yet free from the restrictions imposed upon her by institutions which have survived their time and become a hindrance to progress; she has only too often either to fight or to abandon forever the right to be herself and use her faculties to the full extent of her capacity.[6]

It was this fight which drove much New Woman writing. 'Distinctive types of heroines' were crafted to challenge the *status quo* and to instigate change which would enable them to pursue a path towards self-realisation.[7]

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[5] Dieter Schultz, 'Notes Towards a *Fin-de-Siècle* Reading of Kate Chopin's *The Awakening*', *American Literary Realism, 1870-1910,* Vol.25, No. 3 (Spring 1993), p. 69.
[6] Grand, *Adnam's Orchard*, p. 133.
[7] Carol Poster, 'Oxidisation Is a Feminist Issue: Acidity, Canonicity, and Popular Victorian Female Authors', *College English*, Vol. 58, No.3 (March, 1996), pp. 287 & 290.

Unfortunately, the traditional thraldom which held *fin-de-siècle* women was not to be easily relinquished by those in whose interest it had been established. Perkins Gilman proposed that:

> To the man, the whole world was his world; his because he was male; and the whole world of woman was the home; because she was female. She had her prescribed sphere, strictly limited to her feminine occupations and interests; he had all the rest of life; and not only so, but, having it, insisted on calling it male.[8]

Deiter Schultz builds on this idea, further defining societal expectations: in a 'public sphere belong[ing] to men [...] women were assigned to the private sphere of domestic life. [...] Men were associated with reason, objectivity, the law; women with emotion, subjectivity, and ritual. Feminine virtue was encoded in the private sphere.'[9] In order to 'attempt readjustment in relation to their social organism', a substantial number of women realised that the path to 'self-realisation' necessitated a move from the 'private sphere' created around the domestic space - and potentially from feminine virtue - into a more public arena which held infinitely more options and opportunities.[10] In this way, they could free themselves from these 'constricting conventions'. It becomes evident that there was a strong need for the formation of subaltern counterpublics to enable women to explore alternative possibilities together. Women subdued by long-established hegemonic practices were, in many cases, unsure how to effect change or, in others, to seek the courage to resist societal conventions; it was a journey that required like-minded support and strength. Perkins Gilman emphasised this potential for conflict, both internal and between genders, stating 'vast is the labour of those who seek to change [...] a given idea that has been held

[8] Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *The Man-Made World*, p. 7.
[9] Deiter Schultz, 'Notes Towards a *Fin-de-Siècle* Reading of Kate Chopin's *The Awakening*', *American Literary Realism, 1870-1910*, Vol.25, No. 3 (Spring 1993) as quoted in Wendy Martin, ed., Introduction to *New Essays on The Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 16.
[10] Schreiner, *Women and Labour*, p. 16.

in the human mind for many generations.'[11] Her ideas correlated with those of Sarah Grand whose heroine, Ella Banks, in her attempt to pursue a path towards independence, said, 'in order to shape her life according to her taste and abilities to some good purpose, [woman] has too often to fight for it, if not against someone who assumes the right to oppose her, then against the hidebound conventions of her environment which hamper her full development as a human being' (*AO,* p. 133). Both these authors, among others, promoted the ideal New Woman as a fully-functioning human being enabled to seek her maximum potential within a public sphere. They had to convince age-old conventional establishments which protected the rights of men that 'woman's acquiescence [was] no longer necessary or desirable.'

New Women authors such as Chopin, Mona Caird, Sarah Grand, Olive Schreiner, alongside those such as Marie Corelli and Ouida who, although not fully classed as New Woman authors, supported women's need for both resistance and autonomy, debated these issues using the medium of the novel. They created these 'distinctive types of heroines' who, through their clashes with society, exhibited their desires, signalled 'entrenched power structures or patriarchy as sites of resistance' and thus, became identified as beacons of the struggle for change.[12] This in turn led to the search for a new code of conduct that would allow female movement into the public sphere hitherto denied them. Many of these new woman authors, who struggled against the dominant discourse, were treated badly by male critics who wished to maintain the *status quo*: Ouida, in a letter to Marie Corelli presumably discussing reviews of their novels, commented that 'The whole state of so-called criticism in England is hopelessly corrupt and imbecile; and the public

[11] Perkins Gilman, *The Man-Made World*, p. 6.
[12] Poster, 'Oxidisation Is a Feminist Issue: Acidity, Canonicity, and Popular Victorian Female Authors', pp. 287 & 290.

has so little sensibility or acumen that it cannot distinguish good from bad.'[13] Despite this belittling of her readership, the public clamoured for both her novels and those of Corelli. Fans viewed the stories as tenets that would help in the struggle to resist moral turpitude as the tales displayed heroines with the strength of character to resist simple acquiescence to entrenched social conventions; these women chose instead 'to fight' rather than 'to abandon forever the right to be [themselves]'. In another letter to Corelli, Ouida gave her opinion that 'many an English fetish, social and moral, is in my sight an absurdity to be destroyed as so much rubbish,' [14] Ouida's novel, *Moths*, deals with these fetishes inherent within the corrupt state of European society and exhibits an agreement with Corelli's criticism of English society in *The Sorrows of Satan*.[15] Both novelists highlight the decadence involved in the constant pursuit of pleasure which they portray as the *raison d'être* of the upper classes, and show how their heroines, Vere Herbert and Mavis Claire, are misfits in societies that expect them to conform to whatever corruption or subjugation was enforced on them. Corelli and Ouida's novels sought to illuminate readers by employing the trope of possible perils which awaited if they abandoned a God-fearing lifestyle in favour of an indiscriminate search for constant social acceptance. Vere and Mavis both reject unholy elements which threaten a moral lifestyle and thus encouraged their readership to do the same. Corelli's correspondence shows that at least some of those in power were in agreement with their views: Lord Salisbury wrote

> I sympathise with you very heartily in your estimate of the pernicious influence which is exercised by little cliques or groups, not only in literature, but in many other departments of thought and action.[16]

[13] Ouida, Letter to Marie Corelli, dated 11th May 1890, S.C.L.A., DR777/56.
[14] Ouida, Letter to Marie Corelli, dated 4th April 1890, S.C.L.A., Dr777/55.
[15] Ouida, *Moths* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1895).
Corelli, *Sorrows of Satan*.
[16] S.C.L.A., DR777/50/1.

Similarly, Lloyd George's brother, William, with whom she had a regular correspondence, told Corelli that her book, *Holy Orders*, was 'just the thing I want to fortify myself'.[17] These opinions indicate that Corelli and Ouida were well informed regarding prevailing trains of thought in both private and political circles and were able to create a balance between autonomy for their heroines and an acceptable moral and social tone within their tales that would spread their messages effectively.

This idea of New Woman authors as theoretical instruments of social change is reinforced by Angela Carter:

> One important function of bourgeois fiction is to teach people how to behave in social circles to which they might be able to aspire. The novels of Jane Austen are basically fictionalised etiquette lessons and a lot of fiction that has come directly from the Women's Movement performs, however unconsciously, the same function.[18]

Fin-de-siècle feminist writers who sought change utilised their novels to suggest to their readers ways in which women could promote moves for social change. But this was never portrayed as an easy task and at times made 'characters sound more like ideological parrots than real people' in authorial attempts to educate their readers regarding the realities of the sheer exertion women had to commit to the battle.[19] In her review of the modern edition of Grand's *The Heavenly Twins*, Diana Postlethwaite comments that 'there's no joyous "Reader, I married him" for these heroines.'[20] It becomes evident when reading New Woman novels, that the struggle against the *status quo* to achieve female

[17] S.C.L.A. Dr777/83.
[18] Angela Carter as quoted in Norma Clarke, 'Feminism and the Popular Novel of the 1890s: A Brief Consideration of a Forgotten Feminist Novelist', *Feminist Review*, No.20 (Summer 1985), p. 103.
[19] Diana Postlethwaite, 'Victims of Victorianism', p. 29.
[20] Postlethwaite,'Victims of Victorianism', p. 29.

autonomy saps significant amounts of joy from their existence. The attempt to wrest an acceptable future for themselves from society's strictures and prejudices taxed the fortitude of most *fin-de-siècle* heroines. When Vere Herbert married Prince Zouroff, a known society rake, she was shocked and repulsed by his sexual proclivities:

> A great disgust filled her, and seemed to suffocate her with its loathing and its shame. Everything else in her seemed dead, except that one bitter sense of intolerable revulsion. All the revolted pride in her was like a living thing buried under a weight of sand, and speechless, but aghast and burning [...] Pollution? Prostitution? Society would have closed its ears to such words, knowing nothing of such things, not choosing to know anything. Shame? What shame could there be when he was her husband? Strange fanciful exaggeration! – society would have stared and smiled. [...] this intense revolt, this passionate repugnance, this ceaseless sense of unendurable, indelible reproach. [...] Society would have given her no sympathy. Society would have simpered and sneered.[21]

In common with Grand's Evadne, Vere is surrounded by people who condoned the lax morals with which she finds herself engulfed, she has only the strength of her own convictions to sustain her fight to retain a self-worth that will give her life meaning and conserve her strength. Like Grand's heroines, she refuses 'to abandon forever the right to be herself and use[s] her faculties to the full extent of her capacity' (*AO*, p. 133). As Chopin's Mademoiselle Reisz points out, in a reference to artists which summed up the strength needed to break out from societal expectations, one needed to 'possess the courageous soul. [...] The brave soul. The soul that dares and defies' (*Awakening*, p. 71). Vere's brave soul allows her to resist social pressure, divorce her husband and eventually attain happiness with the man she loves. However, for many the gulf between their unfulfilled lives and the attainment of a more meaningful existence was prohibitively wide and the passage from one to the other was more than they as earthly beings could successfully sustain.

[21] Ouida, *Moths*, pp. 126-127.

In her article on *The Awakening*, Maria Anastasopoulou explains the three stages of these rites of passage:

> *Rites of separation*, in which an individual is spatially distanced from the environment of his previous life; *transitional rites*, in which the individual spends a period of time in this spatially marginal or liminal space where he/she performs certain ceremonial acts signifying the preparation for the integration into the new state of life; and finally *rites of incorporation*, which signify that the crossing of the territorial frontiers has been successfully achieved and the individual is united within the new world.[22]

Referring back to Postlethwaite's idea of there being 'no joyous "Reader I married him"' for *fin-de-siècle* heroines, there were few who attained the 'rites of incorporation'; Chopin's Edna Pontellier is one of these. She followed the traditional rite of separation from single woman to wife and mother, but the transition from the spaces of her Kentucky Blue Grass background to the insularities of Creole society proved to be too constricting for her to submit to. The dichotomy of Edna's transitional existence is highlighted right at the beginning of the text where she has been laughing gaily and playing freely in the ocean, but on return to the house and her husband she is immediately both physically and metaphorically re-bound by her rings and their inherent responsibilities. That these rings were held for her by her husband, and that the return of them is his first action on her entrance, is significant and reinforces his possession of her. His proprietorial attitude is portrayed when he says that she is sunburnt and looks 'at his wife as one looks at a valuable piece of property which has suffered some damage' (*Awakening*, p. 4). His awareness of his spouse as a social asset is tied to her appearance and behaviour, both of which he attempts to control with regularity. The subsequent scene where Mr Pontellier

[22] Maria Anastasopoulou, 'Rites of Passage in Kate Chopin's *The Awakening', The Southern Literary Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Spring 1991), p. 20.

returns from 'Klein's' rather drunk and selfishly awakens his wife with first, his series of anecdotes, and second, makes her rise from bed to check on a supposed sick child because 'he was too well acquainted with fever symptoms to be mistaken', signifies 'the lack of human communication and understanding that [should have marked] the husband-wife relationship' (*Awakening*, p. 7).[23] The pomposity behind Leonce's medical opinion serves to deride Edna's knowledge and care of her children. As child rearing was the *raison d'être* of Creole women, the reader is instantly alerted to perceived shortcomings in the Pontellier household; this effectively sets the imbalances in the Pontellier's relationship. They did not have shared interests as Edna's husband clearly did not see her as a self-sufficient being and, having shown no inclination to have her be so, he firmly sets their perceived gender spheres as those prevalent within Creole society.

In keeping with many *fin-de-siècle* men on both sides of the Atlantic, Leonce sees no need to understand his wife, preferring instead to inhabit the male domain of 'Klein's'. He returns home inconsiderately late to oppress his wife and criticise her inefficiencies within the female sphere, 'modif[ying it] to his own service' and making it 'the vehicle of his comfort, power and pride.'[24] Her husband's unjustified behaviour combined with his reproaches against her abilities as a mother, leads Edna to tears and acts as the catalyst to 'an indescribable oppression, which seemed to generate in some unfamiliar part of her consciousness [and] filled her whole being with a vague anguish. It was like a shadow, like a mist passing across her soul's summer day' (*Awakening*, p. 8). This diminishing of her happiness by hegemonic practices correlates with the beginning of her 'awakening': the gnawing internal strife that, for women, would lead to a personal understanding that their soul was being oppressed and eclipsed by social expectations. Incidents of this type initiated entry to 'the *terra incognita* of a woman's "inward life" in all its "vague, tangled,

[23] Anastasopoulou, 'Rites of Passage in Kate Chopin's *The Awakening',* p. 20.
[24] Perkins Gilman, *The Man-Made World*, p. 9.

chaotic" tumult.'[25] The reader is encouraged to recognise the constrictions of the situation Edna had placed herself in and to begin a realisation that the 'rites of incorporation' may not be attained; perhaps the right to choices regarding her future will be the best Edna can achieve.

There is a mirroring of this separation and transition in Sarah Grand's *Adnam's Orchard* and *The Winged Victory*. Although set on a different continent from *The Awakening*, the issues within the texts are linked. Cross-continental publishing and sharing of ideas were prevalent at this time and the rites of passage Edna experiences are echoed in Grand's work - although Grand creates the possibility of autonomy for her character which Edna is unable to access.[26] The heroine of this two-part Bildungsroman, Ella Banks, builds her own sphere by long hours of painstaking work using her extraordinary ability as a lace maker to furnish her family with money they would otherwise be unable to dream of. This grants her a position of power and respect within her small community. Schreiner advised that 'as old fields of labour slip from [woman], she must grasp new [...;] if a woman is to be saved from degeneration and parasitism, [...] she must receive a training which will cultivate all the intellectual and all the physical faculties and be allowed freely to employ them.'[27] While Edna dabbles with painting, but otherwise has no ideas which would allow her an autonomous existence, Ella has a positive attitude towards change and independence as she resurrects old methods of lacemaking with the end goal of improving the lives of mistreated women within the lace industry. Grand gives her character a strength of purpose which is lacking in Chopin's Edna and which drives Ella's right of

[25] Showalter, 'Tradition and the Female Talent: *The Awakening* as a Solitary Book', p. 42.
[26] The idea of cross-continental dialogue between New Woman writers is discussed in the Introduction of this thesis, pp. 12-14 and p. 29.
[27] Schreiner, *Woman and Labour*, p. 153.

separation in which she has no expectation of failure. Ella is acutely aware that success is not a foregone conclusion and prepares herself for the transitional phase; she recognises the hurdles which may lie ahead and endeavours to be realistic about the attributes that make her unique:

> My world is not a garden [...] it is a jungle, a rich and fertile jungle if you like, but full of ravenous beasts and poisonous reptiles. I must be armed for the encounter [...] I must have weapons [...] I cannot move unarmed. But of course, I must have tools as well to cut my way through the jungle.
>
> *WV*, p. 276.

There is a correlation here between Grand's fictional ideas and those of both Schreiner and especially of Perkins Gilman as it reiterates her idea that 'vast is the labour of those who seek [...] change'. In her pursuit of this change, Ella becomes separated from her lower-class farming family as her biological father, the Duke of Castlefield Saye, sets her up in a high-class lace business in London. Having managed the separation rite, the rite of transition proves more difficult as, like Edna, she underestimates negotiation of a society that is alien to her.

Negotiating the move from the private sphere to a more public arena involved navigating the nuances of new societal experiences and developing the ability, not only to adapt, but also to persevere towards the desired goal. Thinking that all the protection she needs is 'her own good sense and steadfast purpose', Ella finds, within London's smart set, 'puppets of the day [...] whose actions were determined by the spirit of the day paramount in their own set, a spirit which seldom moved them to good purpose' and her limited exposure to socialising aristocracy leaves her with naive expectations (*WV*, pp. 31 & 74). Like Edna, her personal experience do not allow her a full understanding of the workings

of this group. With an as yet underdeveloped sense of gender power, Ella falls back on traditional, disempowering modes of support as she convinces herself that in order to gain a firm place in society she must marry Lord Melton:

> the good ship "Love and Marriage" would soon be anchored in the offing, awaiting the rising of the tide – the tide of success, which sweeps aside the barriers of convention, and renders opposition futile.
>
> *WV*, p. 47.

This supposition leads to her failure to understand the power of her own abilities and personality, instead remaining true to the out-dated lessons taught by her grandmother that she should 'invest [her beauty] at the highest rate of interest' and that

> The higher born your gentleman the better he knows the worth of beauty; [...] make him pay your price. He will pay it when there is no other way. Stand firm – Marriage! Make marriage your price and you'll get it.
>
> *WV*, p. 55.

Ella's paradox was that, unaware of her aristocratic heritage or of her own internal fortitude, she becomes wedged between old marriage market ideas and the ability to be a successful New Woman with her own business; her inherited prejudices hamper her reformist ideas of integration and progress. Achieving this balance was intrinsic to enabling the 'labour' for autonomy to become less 'vast'. *Adnam's Orchard* investigates the 'peasant' attitude to traditional stereotypes of the landed gentry:

> The people believed in their gentry and were proud of them [...] They asked no better guarantee of good faith than "the word of a gentleman." Even when the word given proved of small avail to help them in their distress, they gave the gentleman credit for good intentions, and were gratefully satisfied that he had done his best.
>
> *AO*, p. 354.

These traditional attitudes endangered progress and hinder Ella's incorporation into society as she finds it hard to question the means and motives of the aristocracy once she moves to London; 'Unversed in the secret villainies of a base degenerate world, she ever imagined all mankind to be as spotless as herself. [...] This fatal credulity was the source of all her misfortunes.'[28] Hailing from a small community which retain a blinkered approach to the upper classes, it is difficult for the naive Ella not to give the gentry 'credit for their good intentions' and even harder for her to realise that their intentions were very often insidious. This proves to be her fatal flaw as she places complete trust in the Duke while pursuing marriage to his son, Melton, as her proposed access to power and money. The Duke fails to reveal his past peccadilloes with Ella's mother and, in his desire to retain his standing in society, fails to inform anyone that Ella is his natural daughter resulting in Ella marrying her half-brother. The horror of the situation proves too much for Melton and he commits suicide punishing all concerned who cling to outdated moral practices.

As in the case of her marriage, Ella's need to be seen as an equal amongst fashionable London society often blocks her perspicacity which is so sharp in business matters. Like many emergent New Women, the struggle from outdated values to a state of self-belief proves to be one of the most daunting hurdles. Ella epitomises this struggle:

> She did not appreciate the strength of her own personality, and could not see herself as entirely fitted to carry out her schemes in full, unaided. Permanent power in her experience was altogether a matter of means and position, and means and position she meant to have. Without a high place in the world as a fair field for the display of her beauty and the exercise of personal power, she believed her efforts would be abortive.
>
> *WV*, p. 47.

[28] Perkins Gilman, *The Man Made World*, p. 70.

In common with many other striving New Women, Ella has yet to appreciate 'the future before her glowing with possibilities' and the independence, position and admiration she could gain by belief in her own commercial abilities to stand as a self-sufficient woman and integrate into a society which would learn to accept her as such (*WV*, p. 46).

For Edna Pontellier, prescribed societal incorporation means valuing the traditional stereotypes expected in the gender spheres of Creole society. Within this small, insular community, these are magnified by the fact that the men depart weekly for New Orleans while the women remain behind with the children on Grand Isle. Kimmel and Messner point out that

> not only do men as a group exert power over women as a group, but the definitions of masculinity and femininity reproduce those power relations. Power dynamics are an essential element in both the definition and enactment of gender.[29]

Leonce and the other men are free to come and go from Grand Isle - to define their own dynamics. They also, 'as a group, exert[ed] their power over the women as a group' in leaving them behind to fulfil their traditional roles of home-making and child-rearing. Treating their wives as a group denies the women individuality and assumes that they are all satisfied to play the collective roles allotted to them while the men return to the public sphere they thrive in. By the end of the weekend, Leonce 'was eager to be gone, as he looked forward to a lively week in Carondelet Street', pulled by the virile male bustle and power plays afforded by his business world. (*Awakening*, p. 9) Grant Allen said that 'virility is the keynote to all that is best and forceful in the masculine character' and the combination of power plays on Grand Isle and Carondelet Street allow the Creole men to

[29] Kimmel and Messner, *Men's Lives*, p. xiv.

constantly reinforce their manly standing in the community.[30] Edna, however, is offered no such reassurance of her femininity; trapped and powerless on Grand Isle, she is left all week with 'women who idolised their children, worshiped their husbands, and esteemed it a holy privilege to efface themselves as individuals and grow wings as ministering angels' (*Awakening*, p. 10). Chopin's sarcasm underlines Edna's inability to identify with these women as she struggles to bind herself to the insularity of their gynocentric existence. *Fin-de-siècle* Creole society echoed ideas explored by Kimmel and Messner where

> sex roles had been cast as the static containers of behaviours and attitudes, and biological males and females were required to fit themselves into these containers, regardless of how ill-fitting these clusters of attitudes and behaviours felt.[31]

This underlines what Collier sees as 'a Victorian gender difference between women, who [...] all think alike because they perform the same task (i.e., homemaking), and men, who have developed [...] individuality and large brains because they perform different roles in an increasing division of labour.'[32] Edna tries, but cannot fit into this constricted, insular dynamic and her distance from both the women and her husband is accentuated for the reader when her autonomy asserts itself as 'a certain light [...] beginning to dawn dimly within her, - the light which, showing the way, forbids it' (*Awakening*, p. 15). There is an inner longing within Edna that is as yet indistinct; society filled women's lives with a myriad of inconsequential tasks in order to 'forbid' them from investigating their deeper personal and sensual feelings. The trope of the sea's sensuality, which is present throughout the text, emphasises its influence on Edna's need for the kind of enticing touch and seduction she will never receive from her husband and it hints at an autonomy of body and self that will allow her to rebel against 'the static containers of behaviour':

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[30] Grant Allen, 'Plain Words on the Woman Question', p. 452.
[31] Kimmel and Messner, *Men's Lives*, p. xiv.
[32] Jane F. Collier, 'Victorian Visions', in *Gender Matters: rereading Michelle Z. Rosaldo*, Alejandro Lugo and Bill Maurer, eds., (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), p. 150.

> The voice of the sea is seductive; never ceasing, whispering, clamouring, murmuring, inviting the soul to wander in for a spell in abysses of solitude; to lose itself in mazes of inward contemplation. The voice of the sea speaks to the soul. The touch of the sea is sensuous, enfolding the body in its soft, close embrace.
>
> *Awakening*, p. 16.

The power and flow of the language in this passage defines the autoeroticism Edna found in the sea; the sibilance surrounding the more jarring 'clamouring, murmuring, inviting' enforces the way ideas surround the New Woman enticing her, but pulling her out of the comfort zone of her accustomed sphere. The trope of repetition of the sea's voice and touch insists that the feelings within women cannot be suppressed as the tide of thought changed societal ideas and created awareness constantly like the never-ending ebb and flow of the ocean. Chopin's punctuation suggests a constant build-up of new ideas that would be voiced until they supported all women towards actualisation of their inner needs. There is the promise of support and personal discovery within the buoyancy of the new environment and the possibility of these voices accumulating into subaltern counterpublics. The waves insinuated persistence force Edna's awakening in an action and reaction which stir her emotions on deep mental and physical planes. Chopin suggests that feminism was a movement which, like the tide, was unstoppable – the New Woman would have to gain the courage and independence to move with the tide or be drowned by it.

Grand also explored the trope of the sea's power over human feelings in *Adnam's Orchard*:

> To be aware of the sea as a sensation is to know the sea beyond anything that mortal mind can reveal. There are two kinds of ecstasy; the ecstasy of the flesh, when every sense, healthy and alert, thrills to the influence that has the power to play upon it pleasurably; and the rare ecstasy of the soul that can shed its body

> and fare forth, far on the borders of the arcane, unencumbered. The perfectly balanced human being is capable of both.
>
> *AO*, p. 413.

While the struggle to become a 'perfectly balanced human' proves too much for Edna, the escapism that she finds within this unique oceanic power allows her to be 'unencumbered' by the 'arcane' and provides the perfect environment in which to begin her awakening of both body and soul in her search for the elusive balanced existence. This was instigated by the water's movements:

> The sea was quiet now, and swelled lazily in broad billows that melted into one another and did not break except upon the beach in little foamy crests that coiled back like slow, white serpents.
>
> *Awakening*, p. 31.

The seductive quality of the language combined with the sibilant serpents at the end is suggestive of an orgasmic Eve tempted, but languorously enjoying the motions and their effects. It is not coincidental that this sea is the one in which Edna finds her first taste of power and freedom. Following Grand's idea of the effects of the sea's energy,

> a feeling of exultation overtook her, as if some power of significant import had been given to her to control the working of her body and her soul. She grew daring and reckless, overestimating her strength. She wanted to swim far out, where no woman had swum before.
>
> *Awakening*, p. 31.

In this scene, Edna both reclaims her body and steps out into an alternative solitary space that allows her the autonomy to touch her own power and feel a self-created sense of freedom that completes her alienation from the other inhabitants of Grand Isle. While this freedom is the catalyst that introduces the courage to change her life, it is not until her seduction by the rakish Arobin that physical sensuality finally become a reality. Like the ocean, he awakens her by physical touch and stroking and it is his practiced lascivious

ways that allow him to 'detect [...] the latent sensuality, which unfolded under his delicate sense of her nature's requirements like a torpid, torrid, sensitive blossom' (*Awakening*, p. 116). Chopin's lexical choice and alliteration here again mirrors the sea's motion as it drives the waves of passion to meet Edna's inner needs. Unlike the Christian purist, Grand, Chopin recognised that women had inner needs that should not be ignored, but be allowed to develop if the New Woman was to realise freedom in every aspect of her being.

While Grand did not recognise women's right for sexual satisfaction outside marriage, she did realise the effect surroundings could have on both mood and potential. The pathetic fallacy of physical environment, therefore, also affect Ella in her London surroundings; she sees it as

> the City Joyous of her dreams, the city she had come to conquer [...] she had always thought of London as a magnet which drew wealth to itself from all parts of the world. It was the City Golden to which so many she knew had fled to escape slow starvation, the place where money was made, the place to make money. Always it made her glad to be in the thick of the swirling traffic, among the hurrying feet. [...] As night advanced the noises gradually diminished, [...] but Ella was still conscious of sound, - a sea of sound, the waves of which, breaking about her, washed up to her keen perception fragments of the vast city, a many-voiced merriment; always and only merriment, the glad side of life, the side triumphant which exhilarates.
>
> *WV*, p. 48-49.

Again the metaphor of the sea engulfs the heroine's emotions, but in Ella's environment it is the waves of her perceived success which stroke her soul. Ella's experience, while linked to Edna's has a different meaning; for her the sensuousness of the metaphor is in the power it can bring, signalling the possibilities this environment can offer her. Ella is rather more pragmatic than sensuous; even at Melton's first kiss when 'her whole being laughed

when his lips touched hers', Ella soon recovers full control and remembers the ultimate purpose in her plan to ensnare the heir to the dukedom (*AO*, p. 327). Despite being admired by many men, Ella holds herself aloof and focusses on her target. Like her namesake, The Winged Victory of Samothrace which is famed for the depiction of strength, speed and victory suggested by its ability to withstand being whipped by the wind, Ella's *raison d'être* is action and triumph.[33] However, like the headless statue, Ella is incomplete as her heart and head do not work together; she lacks the spirituality and sensuousness to enable her to find balance in her forward surge thus disallowing the rites of incorporation.

Wendy Martin writes at length about the disgust which Chopin gained from contemporary reviewers regarding the sensuality of her writing – one of the major tropes that underlined Chopin's point at the *fin de siècle* and brings the text to life for a modern reader. Martin includes a number of criticisms from *fin-de-siècle* reviewers, amongst them that of Frances Porcher who condemned Edna because she had 'awakened to know the shifting, treacherous, fickle deeps of her own soul in which lies, alert and strong and cruel, the fiend called Passion, that is all animal and all of earth, earthly. [...] It is better to lie down in the green waves and sink down in the close embraces of old ocean, and so she does.'[34] What this review ignored was the combined forces of a closed system where both men and women were held by the constrictions of an insular society. Edna's husband is neither physically demonstrative nor passionate: 'the Creole husband is never jealous; with him the gangrene passion is one which has become dwarfed by disuse' (*Awakening*, p. 13).

[33] The Winged Victory of Samothrace is a statue of the Goddess Nike and can be found on the main staircase of the Louvre in Paris. Information regarding this can be accessed at: www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/winged-victory-samothrace.

[34] Wendy Martin, ed., *New Essays on the Awakening*, p. 7. (Martin quotes from Frances Porcher, 'Kate Chopin's Novel', *The Mirror*, 9 (May 4th 1899). P. 6.)

It is obvious from this statement by the doyenne of womanhood, Madame Ratignolle, that there was no expectation among the women for their husbands to show more than a polite interest in their wives and children. Mr Pontellier gains societal approval by showing his regard for his wife through sending her presents and giving her money; Edna's friends declare that 'he [was] the best husband in the world' because of this and underline the satisfaction of Creole women to measure their worth only in relation to ostentatious display dependent on hegemonic generosity. This, however, did not prove the husband's love for his wife and family, but exposed his mercenary measurements regarding how efficiently everything indicated his social status and wealth. Despite Edna sending her children away and moving house, Leonce does not feel the need to attempt any kind of understanding as to why this happened, preferring instead to lay this burden on his doctor as go-between. Once more, he fails to intuit the close relationship between husband and wife which Edna so desperately seeks and which might save his marriage.

Desperate to find this love and closeness, Edna forms a relationship with Robert Lebrun, but the final injustice for Edna comes when Robert also fails to meet her needs. After they declare their love for each other, he leaves. The tenets of 'the static containers' of Creole society are so deeply instilled in his nature that he cannot bring himself to make love with another man's wife, regardless of the way they feel about each other. Edna has awakened to the greatest love and passion of her life so far, is willing to risk her reputation to be with him, but is left alone as a result of Robert's moral upbringing and position within Creole society. This underlines

> the costs to men of traditional gender role prescriptions, [showing] how some aspects of men's lives and experiences are constrained

> and underdeveloped by the relentless pressure to exhibit other behaviours associated with masculinity.[35]

Madame Ratignolle reinforces Creole gender prescriptions, telling Robert that 'If your intentions to any married woman here were ever offered with any intention of being convincing, you would not be the gentleman we all know you to be, and you would be unfit to associate with the wives and daughters of the people who trust you' (*Awakening*, p. 23). In the end, his inability to reject the societal background, within which his masculinity is shaped, costs him his chance of happiness with his soul mate; 'to be a man is to participate in social life as a man [...] men make themselves, actively constructing their masculinities within a social and historical context.' Having constructed himself as a Creole gentleman, Robert, whose social and historical values are embedded within his understanding of masculinity, cannot renege and disgrace himself amongst his contemporaries, nor can he commit himself to a woman who does not display nor demand fidelity.[36] This presented the New Woman with an anomalous dilemma as, in order to satiate their desires, they had to renegotiate social attitudes towards sex. Chopin gave her heroine the choice of exploring a relationship with someone like Robert, who chose to control his sexuality to remain part of the acceptable social norms, or to explore sensuality with a rake like Arobin. Neither choice presented hope of a successful, happy outcome.

Women's success in their fight for change and autonomy involved changes in the understanding of the rigid construction of masculinities. Kimmel and Messner highlight men's continuing desire to have the perfect woman ameliorate their inherent sexuality by quoting George Gilder's 1980 idea of gender balance. They write that Gilder

[35] Kimmel and Messner, *Men's Lives*, p. xiii.
[36] Kimmel and Messner, *Men's Lives*, p. xv.

> believes that male sexuality is, by nature, wild and lusty, "insistent" and "incessant", careening out of control and theartening anarchic disorder, unless it can be controlled and constrained. This is the task of women. When women refuse to apply the brakes to male sexuality – by asserting their own or by choosing to pursue a life outside the domestic sphere – they abandon their "natural" function for illusory social gains.[37]

That this view persisted eighty years after the *fin de siècle*, again brings into sharp perspective the 'vast' 'labour' the New Woman faced. It also highlights the interim effort that has helped feminism move forward since Gilder's comments and, considering Bailey's comments at the start of chapter 3, that there is still much to be done. Grand also criticised traditional male sexuality in her treatment of the male line of the Castlefield Saye family who clearly 'construct[ed] their masculinities within a social and historical context' which needed to evolve. The flaws in their traditional, upper-class attitude to women and sex is highlighted as the root of all Ella's problems; despite her attempts to focus on personal success, she is undermined by the secrecy of the Duke's past indiscretions. As in Edna's case, there is a serious reluctance in men to be honest with women. The reader is initially led by the narrator to see the Duke as a slightly bumbling, 'dear-old-lady-man' who had 'never done anything particular with his own life but live it easy' and, in relation to primogeniture, 'it had never occurred to him that there was anything special that Ninian [Melton] could do with his life'; both father and son drift into outdated practices set by their ancestors (*AO,* p. 68).[38] The Duke's inability to inform Ella of their true relationship denotes his lack of moral courage, an attribute that Grand thought imperative for a man to possess; 'without moral courage, there is no such thing as manliness', she states in "Man of the Moment".[39] Caird was also of the opinion that 'the character of a man is the product of all the events of his past [...] the creeds through which his right and wrong, his ideas and

[37] Kimmel and Messner, *Men's Lives*, p. xi – xii.
[38] Grand, 'The Man of the Moment', p. 147.
[39] Grand, 'The Man of the Moment', p. 150.

ambitions, became established'.[40] The Duke's hereditary laxities regarding the behaviour of young, single aristocrats impact on the future of not only himself, but also, tragically, on those of his son and heir and Ella. It becomes clear that, while the Duke has a good heart and kind intentions towards his illegitimate daughter, he does not possess the moral courage to tell her the true facts of her birth lest he lose her regard. Fatally, Ella's narrow-mindedness regarding the social position she would gain by marrying Lord Melton compounds the Dukes secret, leading to Melton's suicide as he realises the implications following the consummation of his consanguineous marriage. While Melton dies, his behaviour shows a courageous and manly solution to a problem which was a societal taboo and could not have been undone in any other conceivable manner. Caird said that 'no crime, however base, no cruelty, however fiendish, is shrunk from [...] when social law commands, [...] or from the higher development of character in other directions'.[41] Melton's act shows a higher development of character than that of his father's and teaches a valuable lesson both for those he left behind and for future generations; Caird emphasised her expectations for exploring improvement as 'fluctuat[ing] around the accepted standard as a centre, [...] we slowly make way by a successive raising of standards'.[42] Grand's implied lesson for society was that for things to improve, hereditary practices and embedded social mores had to be constantly reviewed and adapted and that the struggle to achieve this needed to apply equally to both genders. By allowing the man to commit suicide, Grand undermined the traditional gender politics where it was the female protagonist who died as a result of indiscretions. While Melton sacrifices himself, breaking the line of primogeniture, as a result of paternal indiscretion rather than his own,

[40] Caird, 'Phases of Human Development', *Westminster Review*, 141 (January 1894), p. 39.
[41] Caird, 'Phases of Human Development', p. 37.
[42] Caird, 'Phases of Human Development', p. 38.

this is an interesting shift in the feminist plot which challenged embedded masculinities to change or face extinction.

In the final analysis, both heroines are faced with unacceptable gendered positions within androcentric societies. Edna struggles to become 'the courageous soul. [...] The brave soul. The soul that dares and defies'. She entrusts her children into the care of their grandmother, takes the major step of finding her own home using her own income and experiments with both her sexuality and her sensuality, but she lacks support from any source to help her to combat the deeply instilled tenets of Creole society. Martin, in her discussion of Gilmore's essay on the novel, says that 'nothing less than a "transformation of social reality would enable the 'new born' creature Edna has become to go on living."'[43] Solitarily, Edna will never be able to achieve this; she seeks to become an awakened being, but those around her have no desire to follow suit. Cristina Giorcelli thinks that 'All that concerns Edna is marked by an essential state of "in betweenness". Edna becomes defined mainly by approximation and is therefore unable to integrate into any milieu: neither in the one in which she was raised, nor the one in which she lived.'[44] An outsider to both societies she experiences, Edna requires a point of reference in order to complete a successful metamorphosis: like-minded women who could relate to and share her experiences in the hope of lifting her to a new level of womanhood. Giorcelli also mentions 'the "subjective" validity (and not the objective significance) of judgement', and this sums up Edna's problem: wrapped in solitude, she has no supporting help to allow her to stand back and view her experiences objectively. Enmeshed within the trauma of self-

[43] Martin, *New Essays on the Awakening*, p. 26.
[44] Cristina Giorcelli, 'Edna's Wisdom: A Transitional and Numinous Merging', in Martin, *New Essays on the Awakening*, p. 112.

discovery, she is unable to combat social pressure to conform – the problems inherent within the two states are mutually exclusive, but seemingly insurmountable.

To compound these problems, her 'failure to resolve the conflict between her urge towards self-realisation and the constricting conventions of society' is directly influenced by the inability of the men in her life to escape these constricting conventions.[45] Her husband continues to regard her as a possession who should conform to his societal and business positions as he chooses not to acknowledge her rebellion and instead schemes to camouflage her behaviour within his social circles. Arobin never holds any hope of a future for Edna and is simply a vehicle to move her stirring sensuality to a sexual awakening. It is Robert, however, who betrays her hopes and dreams when he fails to consummate the awakening of her sensuality, sexuality and love and thus rejects the offer of her soul. It proves impossible for him to break away from the 'given idea that ha[d] been held in the human mind for many generations.'[46] In this light, Giorcelli points out that

> Robert, after five months and a sojourn abroad, is very much the same man he was when he left: timid, tied to the rules of his milieu. Edna, on the other hand, has tested herself in new personal as well as professional directions and has begun to realise that dreams and fantasies should not be fettered by institutional forms.[47]

This is a situation which was also addressed by a few male authors and ran parallel to ideas within Gissing's *The Odd Women*, where, during their separation, Rhoda Nunn and Everard Barfoot discover a divergence in their views.[48] Initially, Everard, thinking he is

[45] Schultz, 'Notes Towards a *Fin-de-Siècle* Reading of Kate Chopin's *The Awakening'*, p. 69.
[46] Perkins Gilman, *The Man Made World*, p. 6.
[47] Perkins Gilman, *The Man Made World*, p. 117.
[48] George Gissing, *The Odd Women*, (London: Virago, 1980).

completely enlightened, 'refused to entertain a thought of formal marriage', but Rhoda is more pragmatic and needs time to think, opting at this point for 'that old idle form' (*Odd Women*, pp. 176 & 266). They part when, due to an inability to be open with one another, she suspects his infidelity. When they reconcile, it is also after a number of months and the hero's sojourn abroad. However, in this case, both have changed: 'legal marriage...has acquired some new sanction' for Everard and he has become 'fettered by institutional forms'. Rhoda, on the other hand, has discovered in the interim that marriage would betray her ideals and declares that she 'shall never marry' (*Odd Women*, p. 326). Despite their love for each other, he is denied 'the joy of subduing her to his will' as she courageously resists social pressure and comes to a balanced decision that is harmonious with the tenets of her life. Everard's bluff is called and he subsequently fails to meet her courage of faith in love alone, tied as he is to social strictures; their doctrines are so disparate that their only option is to part. The difference between the two heroines, and that which defines Rhoda as successful, is that she lives within an autonomous micro-society where she can develop and discuss her ideas, and benefits from supportive, like-minded women. This is something Edna is unable to aspire to and which contributes significantly to the outcome of *The Awakening*.

Completely awakened to the restrictions of a future which could only wither her soul, Edna 'claim[s] a solitude that is defiantly feminine [...] to stand naked and "absolutely alone" by the shore and to elude "the soul's slavery" by plunging into the sea's embrace'.[49] Edna chooses the seductive arms of the sea in place of life with no hope of physical or mental satisfaction. The labour required to combat the androcentric culture and change her dichotomous existence to a hopeful future proves impossible for her to

[49] Showalter, 'Tradition and the Female Talent: *The Awakening* as a Solitary Book', p. 33.

accomplish single-handedly. Ella too, has an awakening of her own after the death of Melton. Despite her shock and illness after the revelations, she is stronger than Edna. Her position is summed up in a conversation between Mr Strangeworth and Lord Terry de Beach. On being asked if Ella would die, Strangeworth explains the difference between old conventions and the New Woman:

> "The old heroine was done for! Gods and men had no more use for her, therefore to suit their own convenience they made it her duty to get out of the way! But the healthy-minded modern young woman takes the opposite view of her duty. She sets a higher value on herself. She has to pay, Lord knows, in suffering, but she has the courage to live for others. She does not take injustice lying down, she would resist it – to right the wronged. [...] Under the circumstances it would be easier to die than to live. But the pity of it in this case! The loss to suffering humanity! Would you rob the world of sympathy so widened and deepened, of understanding so enriched by experience? And what has she done that she can be blamed for? Made a mistake! Under circumstances, too, that render mistakes inevitable."
>
> "The modern woman is incalculable," said Lord Terry De Beach.
>
> "On the contrary, my dear friend," Strangeworth exploded again, "you can reckon on her – and that's more than you could do on any woman shaped to a man's convenience and prejudice. Women answer to expectation. They used to answer to what men expected of them, ranking them as lower animal; now they answer to what they expect of themselves, and they expect great things of themselves."
>
> *WV*, p. 652.

Grand showed the possibilities if, within English society, there were men such as Strangeworth who would support and promote the New Woman into a strong, more profitable future. Ella's flaw is that she 'rejected the higher power she had in herself and put her faith in the strength of social position', but, having learned from her mistakes and used the support of those around her, she is seen as having a strong future ahead of her. There is still 'no joyous "Reader, I married him" for these heroines', but, like Rhoda, Ella develops the strength of her convictions and is supported by those around her in order to

labour towards a future helping others to attain these exacting standards the New Woman aspired to. Both women 'have tools as well to cut [their] way through the jungle' of society' and they have 'begun to realise that dreams and fantasies should not be fettered by institutional forms' (*HT* p. 276).[50] These fictitious heroines display the importance of subaltern counterpublics that would bolster their movement into a public arena where they could attain success free from the traditional restraints within a 'social and historical context' that would be placed on women by hegemonic masculinity.

While Edna is awakened, she lacks the tools to succeed; Ella, experiencing a wider culture than the restrictive Creole spaces, recognises that without certain attributes she could not hope to penetrate her aspired social arena. She discovers 'that society made women's acquiescence no longer necessary or desirable' and will fight to provide women with the knowledge, experience and support needed to gain independence. However, Grand pointed out that for this to succeed, both sexes must change their traditional positions and ideas and reform towards a time where men regained 'the chivalry, the truth, and affection, the earnest purpose, the plain living, high thinking, and noble self-sacrifice that make a man'.[51] Margaret Oliphant said, in 1894, that 'it is probably true that at the present moment the whole aspect of the woman question is a proof rather of the evolution of men than of women in a community' and while this was to an extent correct, it seems from reading New Woman novels, that all three - men, women and community – had to change if an equilibrium was to be achieved in society.[52]

[50] Giorcelli, 'Edna's Wisdom: A Transitional and Numinous Merging', p. 112.
[51] Grand, 'The New Aspect of the Woman Question', p. 275.
[52] Margaret Oliphant, 'Some Thoughts on the Woman Question', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 156:949 (November 1894), p. 690.

While New Woman authors were adept at showing the trials and tribulations their heroines had to face in order to attempt any kind of autonomous existence, their resistance to hegemonic traditions would achieve limited success if men were not prepared to examine their own practices and instigate change. For this change to begin, men would need support to renegotiate their positions in a way that would allow them to retain positive aspects of masculinity while exploring ideas of equality that would allow women more autonomy both within the private and public spheres.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CREW OF LIGHT

One equal temper of heroic hearts,
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.[1]

Michael Kaufmann states that 'men have formed elaborate institutions of male bonding and buddying: clubs, gangs, teams [...] not to mention that great fraternity of man.'[2] He suggests that these are 'havens where men, by common consent, can find safety among other men. [...] They are safe houses where [...] love and affection for other men can be expressed.' Stoker's vampire hunters, the Crew of Light, formed just such a bond whereby they could empathise each with the other while providing a support structure that validated their manliness by common consent in a time of extreme danger. They could thus participate in communal decision making. This would give them the potential to develop more balanced views regarding problem solving and correct actions in order to combat the threat to themselves and those around them. As a gendered group with shared values and goals, they present a staunch, socially selective, masculine barrier to their enemy's plans, what Kimmel describes as 'a pristine mythic homosocial Eden where men could, at last, be real men among other men.'[3] In *Dracula,* Stoker creates a 'homosocial Eden' where his Crew of Light are concerned with constantly reinforcing their manliness in relation to each other.

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[1] Alfred Lord Tennyson, *Ulysses* in *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed., Christopher Ricks (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1969), pp. 560-566.
[2] Kaufman, in Kimmel and Messner, *Men's Lives*, p. 9.
[3] Kimmel, *The Gender of Desire*, p. 29.

While delving into his imagination to create his anti-hero, Dracula, Stoker utilised facets of real humanity to bring his homosocial group of heroes to life. The appeal of the Crew of Light lay in aspects that were recognisable to the *fin-de-siècle* reader. Many of these aspects were based on people and behaviour that Stoker would have seen on a daily basis; this allowed him to incorporate patterns of manliness familiar within his era. In his role as Actor Manager at the Lyceum, Stoker had the opportunity to observe a wide swathe of society. Writing about the social gatherings which frequently took place in the theatre once the play was over, he said:

> The ordinary hospitalities of the Beefsteak Room were simply endless. A list of the names who supped with Irvine there would alone fill chapters of this book. They were of all kinds and degrees. The whole social scale has been represented from the Prince to the humblest of commoners. Statesmen, travellers, explorers, ambassadors, foreign princes and potentates, poets, novelists, historians – writers of every style, shade and quality. Representatives of all the learned professions; of all the official worlds; of all the great industries. Sportsmen, landlords, agriculturists. Men and women of leisure and fashion. Scientists, thinkers, inventors, philanthropists, divines. Egotists, ranging from harmless esteemers of their own worthiness to the very ranks of Nihilism. Philosophers. Artists of all kinds. In very truth the list was endless and kaleidoscopic.[4]

Thus multifarious aspects of Victorian society passed under Stoker's scrutiny, allowing him to draw on these encounters to add realistic depth to his characters. Contemporary readers would have recognised this and, in being able to relate to them, would have been become more involved with the tale. While one reviewer thought Stoker's 'story would

[4] Bram Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving* (London: Heinemann, 1906), p. 113.

have been all the more effective if he had chosen an earlier period', he rather missed the point which another of his critical peers identified:

> The story is told in such a realistic way that one actually accepts its flights of fancy as real facts.[5]

While the critic of the *San Francisco Chronicle* enjoyed the 'flights of fancy', recognition of settings and characters does create moments of suspension of belief that connect the audience with the personae within the novel; genre elements associated with the Fantastic are thus rendered far more chilling.

For this Fantastic suspension to work, Todorov proposes that certain prescriptive elements should be included in a tale:

> First, the text must oblige the reader to consider the world of characters as a world of living persons and to hesitate between a natural and supernatural explanation of the events described. Second, this hesitation may also be experienced by a character; thus the reader's role is so to speak entrusted to a character, and at the same time the hesitation is represented, it becomes one of the themes of the work [...] Third, the reader must adopt a certain attitude with regard to the text: he will reject allegorical as well as "poetic" interpretations.[6]

Since all records of the *Dracula* story are entrusted to the reader through the medium of various characters' diary entries, in sharing the inner thoughts of the persona, the fin-*de-siècle* reader trusted the omniscience of the narrator and thus suspended their own disbeliefs to engage with those of the particular individual whose diary entry they were

[5] *The Spectator*, July 31st 1897, & *The San Francisco Chronicle*, December 17th 1899.
[6] Todorov, *The Fantastic*, p. 33.

sharing. In doing this, readers would begin to follow the character's reasoning rather than their own. Following Todorov's theory, Seward's hesitation regarding Lucy's un-dead status mirrors that of the reader who questions the verity of Van Helsing's hypotheses:

> Yesterday I was almost willing to accept Van Helsing's monstrous ideas; but now they stand out lurid before me as outrages on common sense. I have no doubt that he believes it all. I wonder if his mind can have become in any way unhinged. Surely there must be some rational explanation of all these mysterious things.
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> *D*, p. 181.

Seward, unable to relinquish the stability of his familiar social norms, is unwilling to recognise the possibility of incomprehensible threats. As a man of science, he is slow to acknowledge a hypothesis that he cannot measure or probe. His inner thoughts, shared by the reader as they slowly unfolded in his diary entries, help build a personal connection so the rollercoaster of emotional belief and incredulity becomes more potent. Stoker invites the reader to become entangled with the fictional individuals while maintaining an external view of their emergent errors and shortcomings which demand a transition in conventional gender practices in order to achieve a successful outcome. Stoker crafted the Crew of Light in moulds that contemporary society would recognise, and thus readers could identify with not only his characters and their moments of hesitation, but with the possible tragedy that may befall society should the heroes fail to rise to the challenge presented by lurking evils. So successful was this technique that, over one hundred years later, artistic interpretations of the novel are still probing for 'rational explanation[s]'. As Katie Harse and Nina Auerbach put it, '[in a] novel [which] abounds with 'men who testify breathlessly to each other's manhood'', 'Dracula keeps rising from the Grave'.[7] The endless appeal of the

[7] Nina Auerbach, *Our Vampires, Ourselves* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), as quoted in Katie Harse, '"Stalwart Manhood": Failed Masculinity in *Dracula*'; Elizabeth Miller, ed., *Dracula the Shade and*

masculine dynamics evident between the Crew of Light has prompted a variety of both interpretations and interpretive derivatives in attempts to define the manly bonds created by Stoker. Even Conan Doyle used the vampire trope in his Holmes Story 'The Adventure of the Sussex Vampire'.[8]

The Crew of Light, representing multiple facets of *fin-de-siècle* masculinity, form homosocial bonds which allow them to create a social subgroup within which they can collaboratively surmount both their disbeliefs and the horrors facing them; Stoker suggests that only with a concerted effort can Victorian manliness combat the challenge of evil men epitomised by Dracula. Harse suggests that 'occasional displays of excessive masculine aggression occur because the heroes are overcompensating for fear of demonstrating weakness, an equally serious threat to their collective masculinity.'[9] A combination of the Fantastic elements and Stoker's crafting of his arch-villain make this overcompensation not only acceptable, but necessary if the Crew of Light are to overcome the threat Dracula poses both to society and its gender constructs. The 'Crew' thus incorporates bastions of respectability personified in the aristocrat, the adventurer, the psychiatric doctor and the multi-talented Professor Van Helsing whose knowledge of all things scientific, religious and supernatural seems infinite. This group is complemented, after the death of Lucy, by the addition of the lawyer, Harker. Stoker melds new middle-class professions with older noble gentlemanly values connecting his men through education and readjusting their core values to effectively deal with the trials that face them in the changing social climate. Stoker provides an example of how men from diverse social strata can be representative of

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the Shadow (Essex: Desert Island Books, 1998), p. 229; and Auerbach, 'Dracula Keeps Rising from the Grave', in Miller p. 23.

[8] Conan Doyle, 'The Adventure of the Sussex Vampire' in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 1015-1026.

[9] Harse, '"Stalwart Manhood": Failed Masculinity in *Dracula*', p. 230.

the whole, echoing Kimmel and Messner's idea that 'to be a man is to participate in social life as a man, as a gendered being. [...] men make themselves, actively constructing their masculinities within a social and historical context.'[10] The Crew of Light collectively enable each other to face threats which have the potential to cause major disease within the society they cherished. Together they can debate and implement changes with confidence which then enable them to consider actions within defined parameters crucial to the continuation of both healthy masculinity and womanhood.

Trust and respect at this level would have been instilled by the common denominator of their early years. Education for boys, in Victorian times, was an important grounding for the men they were to become. Davenport Adams, who was an acquaintance of Stoker, wrote:

> The impressions formed in youth – the habits adopted in youth – the modes of thought cultivated in youth – remain with us in our manhood, cling to us in our latest years, are never thrown off or forgotten.[11]

The ease with which the Crew of Light interact shows their 'common', 'cultivated' habits and their 'modes of thought'. The reader may infer that Quincey Morris, despite being American, Seward and Arthur attended English boarding schools as their homosocial bonds are based in mutual social ethics they would have learned in boyhood. The public school system encouraged boys to:

[10] Kimmel And Messner, *Men's Lives*, p. xv.
[11] Correspondence between Stoker and Davenport Adams is in The Stoker Collection, 6/18, and W.H. Davenport Adams, *The Boy Makes the Man: A Book of Example and Encouragement for the Young*, p. 188.

> set up high standards of thinking and acting, and endeavour to strengthen and purify the principles as well as to reform the habits.[12]

The three men display an inherent and unspoken trust in each other at levels which are so deep they cannot be reached except by shared principles and long acquaintance. These principles were expounded to young boys in publications such as *The Boy's Own Paper*, set up in 1879 by the Religious Tract Society.[13] Full of tales of derring-do and healthy pastimes for the young gentleman, it, and its various counterparts, were aimed at the moral guidance of late Victorian youth in a drive to turn them into upright, healthy and useful members of society. Tales of 'boys who became celebrated simply by their sheer pluck and courage' were a feature of almost every issue.[14] Talbot Reed, amongst other tales, wrote a series of stories about a fictitious boarding school, Parkhurst, delineating acceptable and unacceptable modes of behaviour within this microcosmic community.[15] Famous writers of the era such as Jules Verne, R.M. Ballantyne and Arthur Conan Doyle contributed suitably strengthening material.[16] Illustrations by Alfred Pierce, who worked for *Boy's Own Paper* for over fifty years, show stereotypes of men of action bravely facing life-threatening situations; 'An Interrupted Bathe', the frontispiece to the *Summer Supplement* of 1894, shows a tiger sneaking up on a young man bathing; the assumption being that this lad, to whom cleanliness is paramount even in the jungle, would have the skill and pluck to shine in the face of adversity along with comrades who would rush to his aid.[17] These ideas were paramount to moulding the manly attitudes of young *fin-de-siècle* male minds.

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[12] Smiles, *Self Help with Illustrations of Character, Conduct and Perseverance*, p. 304.
[13] Jack Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir! The Story of The Boy's Own Paper*, p. 15.
[14] *Boy's Illustrated Annual* (London: Sampson Low, 1897), p. 299.
[15] Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir! The Story of The Boy's Own Paper,* p. 29. (A fuller discussion of the education of Victorian boys can be found in Chapter 2.)
[16] Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir! The Story of The Boy's Own Paper,* p. 26.
[17] *Boy's Own Paper: Summer Supplement* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1884), p. 123.

Articles, such as the carefully chosen examples of ideal Victorian boy and manhood in *Boy's Own Paper*, would have provided much of the formative ideologies of Stoker's young heroes moulding them into upstanding gentlemen of principles. Their intuitive perceptions of correct manly behaviour, even at times when intimate feelings are displayed, express a bond that each instinctively understood. This is exemplified by Seward's remark when Arthur is distraught by what happens to his fiancée:

> He suddenly broke down, and threw his arms around my shoulders and laid his head on my breast, crying [...] I comforted him as well as I could. In such cases men do not need much expression. A grip of the hand, the tightening of an arm over the shoulder, a sob in unison, are expressions of sympathy dear to a man's heart.
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> *D*, p. 152.

Even in extreme moments the Victorian gentleman has been schooled in the appropriate response and produces it as a matter of course; he is always there to be worthy of trust and to intuit the necessary support in a manly way.

The alliance between the three men has been consolidated by their own tales of derring-do. Quincey's letter to Arthur, on the latter's engagement to Lucy, reminisces about their prior exploits (*D*, p. 62). Epistolary evidence emphasises the strength of their homosocial bonds set over many years of adventuring together around the globe. During this time, they had been living examples of the tales penned by writers in *Boy's Own Paper*, having explored, hunted and fought together. They had cared for each other in times of war and peace, both physically and mentally, within boundaries acceptable for manly protagonists. With their manliness firmly established, they are enabled to show

displays of affection with 'a loving greeting' - even the sharing of tears, although only under masculine circumstances; the phrase 'mingle our weeps over the wine cup', illustrates an acceptable release of emotions within a supportive circle (both *D*, p. 62). Their bond of trust accepts that the sharing of drunken emotions remains a private and personal experience between two men. Kipling portrayed similar bonds in many of his tales, most particularly in *The Light That Failed,* written in 1891, in which he probes the ties between Dick and Torpenhow which transcend those of simple friendship, and of relationships with women, to encompass the defining moments of their lives.[18] The denouement of the novel accentuates this as the dying Dick struggles across continents to expire in the arms of his friend placing the importance of that homosocial bond of love above every other consideration in his life. The language of Quincey's letter shows a similar bond of affection commensurate with that of the era; Henry Irving regularly began letters and notes to friends, including Thornley Stoker, Bram's brother, with 'love and greeting' sometimes followed by 'Dear old friend'.[19] Within their close social clusters, men were comfortable addressing each other in terms a modern reader would find distinctly effeminate, even signing off with such phrases as 'your own' or 'your ever' and even 'affectionately yours', but these would resonate realistically for a *fin-de-siècle* readership.[20] Even Quincey's attitude regarding his marriage proposal further suggests that he sees the rivalry for Lucy's hand on a par with the usual capers of his group as he attempts to prove to Arthur that the strength of their friendship has not been affected by the latter winning the trophy. Cementing this new phase in life's journey necessitates gathering round the 'camp-fire' to share the tale with supportive congratulations or commiserations as appropriate. This manly behaviour was not new to their era; their social gathering is evocative of Twelfth Century French knights' *chansons de geste*; communal

[18] Rudyard Kipling, *The Light That Failed* (London: Macmillan, 1953).
[19] Stoker Collection, 6/253(3) & 6/18.
[20] Stoker Collection, various examples from boxes 6 & 7.

songs celebrating knightly exploits and companionship which only occasionally mentioned their wives and mothers.[21] For Victorians familiar with ideas of knightly chivalry from texts such as Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, 'Morte D'Arthur' and 'The Lady of Shalott' and even Conan Doyle's *White Company* and *Sir Nigel*, chivalric ideas such as those shown in *chansons de geste* would be familiar.[22] They harked back to an era when knights spent most of their time with each other and comradely bonds were the most important to them, with female company merely a comforting aspect in the background. When they first appear in *Dracula*, the relationships of the younger members of the Crew of Light manifest this knightly behaviour as they reminisce over their past exploits, Seward, Arthur and Quincey being so alike that they woo the same maiden. However, when one of them emerges victorious, they congregate to debrief each other in their egocentric way while Lucy becomes almost peripheral as the spoils of war. Sidney Painter points out that in medieval France this mode of chivalry gradually came under scrutiny as it left women open to abuse from many quarters. Stoker led his readers to the same conclusion in *fin-de-siècle* England as the vampire hunters, at various points in the tale, neglect both Lucy and Mina during homosocial congratulatory episodes. This unfortunate neglect suggests that these attitudes needed to be modified and that women should be allowed to participate fully in their own destiny and not be seen as either the spoils of war or to be protected as merely decorative.

The Crew's failure to protect Lucy from the ravages of the vampire is consequential to their rendering of previously dependable masculine structures which

[21] Sidney Painter, *French Chivalry: Chivalric Ideas and Practices in Medieval France* (London: Cornell University Press, 1940), p. 102 (all following information on this subject will be taken from this volume.)
[22] Alfred Lord Tennyson, 'Idylls of the King' in *The Poems of Tennyson*, pp. 436-477; 'The Lady of Shalott' in *The Poems of Tennyson*, pp. 354-361 and 'Morte D'Arthur' in *The Poems of Tennyson*, pp. 585-598.
Conan Doyle, *Sir Nigel* and *The White Company*.

mirror medieval times. Medieval behaviour constituted a clear external display of manliness which was impossible to replicate in the *fin de siècle* where manly behaviour had become more of an internalised process. With external codes a thing of the past, manliness had to be redefined and the Crew of Light seek to find a path that will connect past glories to forward-thinking modes of masculinity that allow equal respect for both sexes; this was paramount to successful evolution of the species as a whole. Before they reach this stage however, and still unaware of the need for modification, Arthur, having wooed the fair maid, is content to trust her care to his friend, Seward, and, on Seward's recommendation, to a strange professor. Behaviour of this sort was not unheard of at the time; when Henry Irving's son, Lawrence, was involved in a shooting accident in 1892, Irving was quite happy to allow an acquaintance, Lawson Tait, to travel to Belfast, appraise the situation and support Lady Irving in her husband's absence. Tait kept Irving informed on the progress of the young man including praising the choice of doctor and advising on suitable places for convalescence.[23] Their correspondence is analogous with that of Arthur and Seward. One telegram in particular from Irving to Tait bears more than a passing resemblance to the communications between the two young men in *Dracula*:

> I am more grateful to you than I can say my dear friend [...] it will be a great kindness [...] so a great comfort to me to know that such a man is aiding my boy. I hope you will let me know the exact state of the case.[24]

Arthur's letter to Seward, requesting his assistance in Lucy's case, also begins with an endearment, 'My dear Jack', and his next hasty telegram asks his friend to 'write me fully by tonight's post [...] Wire me if necessary' (both *D*, p. 104). Like Irving, Arthur is content to commit the care of his loved one to his 'dear friend' and to await news as it comes. The

[23] Stoker Collection, 6/275.
[24] Stoker Collection, 6/275.

commission of trust shown between both sets of men in their epistolary exchanges is another testimony to the reality of Stoker's male characters. While these practices appeared normal, the attitude of the suitor, verging on *laissez faire,* leads to Lucy's tragic outcome in the novel. Stoker stresses the harm that can befall a woman when her partner is inattentive. Situations arise where homosocial friends should not stand surrogate for the man who needs to establish his own bonds with his life partner. The lack of Arthur's personal attentiveness is a major contributing factor in Lucy's demise: there should be direct care and communication between the betrothed couple. It is unacceptable for this to be carried out by a third party who cannot establish the level of intimacy needed to share personal details and troubles. This intimacy and sharing became imperative in the move towards Caird's 'union between man and woman, as distinguished from common bondage' in order to establish a dialogic relationship which could create a space in which a sharing of feelings could become a reality.[25]

While Lucy did initially have a say in allowing Seward to consult on the case, she has no further voice in her treatment. Once transformed and diseased by the sanguine exchange of Dracula's influence, she transforms into a dangerous parasite. Stoker captures two phases of feminine existence which could have no future in *fin-de-siècle* England, underlining the strength of his commitment in the beheading. Elaine Showalter is of the opinion that Lucy is controlled and silenced by the men when she is decapitated:

> The severed head [...] seems to be a way to control the New Woman by separating mind from body. [...] decapitation is a Draconian way to shut women up.[26]

[25] Caird, 'Wild Women', p. 827.
[26] Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy*, p. 182.

Showalter seems to overlook that at no time is Lucy portrayed as a New Woman: as a creature created by outdated feminine influence, she is sweet, but pampered and indecisive before death – traits which would not allow her to function independently as the new century approached. Unable, therefore, to assert her independence, she is silenced by the men well before her death when all responsibility for her future health is assumed by her eager protectors. Despite employing stealth 'so as not to arouse any suspicion in Mrs Westenra', Seward is profligate with his medical reports (*D*, p. 104). By confining them to his male coterie, a socially-gendered division is instigated by their collaboratively protectionist stance. Undeterred by his assurance to Lucy that 'a doctor's confidence was sacred', Seward shows a complete disregard for this, renders Lucy powerless and informs both Arthur and Van Helsing of all he finds. The information later forms part of Mina's compilation of events signalling that the group recognise that Mina is a completely different type of woman from her friend and, unlike Showalter's suggestion above, the Crew of Light show respect for Mina's New Woman attributes and attitudes (*D*, p. 105). The need to disseminate intelligence within his social support group seems to override Seward's Hippocratic oath; both Arthur, despite being only affianced and not married to Lucy, and the professor, a complete stranger who assumes a patriarchal role, are permitted autonomy regarding Lucy's treatment, before and after her death. This almost proprietorial ownership of Lucy as a passive victim is at complete odds with the aspirations of women who desired change at the *fin de siècle* and who sought increasing degrees of independence to gain control of their own life choices. Lucy, in her compliance with masculine decision making, is out of step with the times and therefore is not worthy of being saved. Signified by the weakness of her blood, she is unsuitable to produce the future progeny of the Godalming line; as William Hughes explains:

> the pale countenance and physical lassitude of the bloodless body signifies [...] an invaliding of the self and a legacy of weakness for one's descendants'.[27]

Stoker indicates that the future ruling classes of England needed the progeny of stronger women than Lucy to enable them to confront the new century with impunity. It was important for men to realise this and to seek out women who would strengthen English heredity. Working together as a group, the men strive towards the realisation that Lucy would produce weak, and even diseased, descendants. Arthur, as the aristocrat, is supported by the men of science to validate the cleansing of bloodlines in the upper echelons of society. Stoker signals that women like Lucy have to be obliterated and replaced by those represented by Mina; women with evolved attitudes and relationships that would better suit the new era.

The transition from old, ingrained ideas does not come readily: some unacceptable and odd improprieties are committed by the Crew while dealing with Lucy's illness, demise and eternal rest. Arthur, with 'his stalwart proportions and [...] the strong young manhood which seemed to emanate from him' is chosen as the first to afford Lucy a blood transfusion as he is 'a man, and it is a man [they] want' (*D*, p. 113). Despite being willing to 'give the last drop of blood in [his] body for her', his performance is far from chivalrous. Van Helsing gives Arthur permission to kiss Lucy 'once before it is done', but instead of allowing him to kiss his fiancée while she is awake, and when the display of affection may have been reassuring to her, they wait until she is drugged before Arthur enters the room and is allowed to kiss her. This sneaky violation, albeit a minor one, showed a willingness to take sexual favours from a passive female victim and, in being

[27] William Hughes, *Beyond Dracula*, p. 141.

akin to Dracula's behaviour, has to change to be in step with the evolving form of relationship displayed by Mina and Jonathan. Chastity within important bloodlines is also signalled by Stoker as being of import; Arthur's aristocracy is unquestioned as he has 'blood so pure [they] need not defibrinate it' and is 'more good than [Seward and Van Helsing] [...] who toil much in the world of thought [whose] nerves are not so calm and [...] blood so bright'(All *D*, p. 114). Arthur is of knightly stock who, in the chivalric past, displayed strong will and courage and who were prepared to spill their blood for a cause they believed in. His bright aristocratic blood contrasts not only with that of his two companions, but also with the dark side of Dracula. However, in order to distance himself further from behaviour like that of the rakish Count, *fin-de-siècle* masculinity had to keep their blood pure, resist the desire to steal sexual favours from comatose young ladies and to show new levels of respect for women. Stoker shows concord with Grand's treatment of the Castlefield Saye family who are also denied progeny unless lax morals, ideas of sexual entitlement and ownership are improved. Men had to be prepared to show more consideration for the wishes of women within their relationships. The New Woman, while still seeking romance, did not want to be manhandled and abducted; she wanted an equal voice in her future. An increasing number of authors of both sexes displayed willingness to explore these possibilities in their fiction.

The Count's past also involved knightly valour, but misuse of power and inability to adapt to new roles have led him into increasingly evil ways; the commonalities between Arthur and the vampire are intended to warn Victorian society of the perils resultant from this misuse of power. In the landed gentry, the loss of externalised displays of knightly combat threatened to result in an inadequate sense of purpose and to an inability to act for oneself; this signalled the rise of those 'who toil much in the world of thought' and a shift

from old, traditional ways. The knightly quest to save the damsel-in-distress thus needed to consider that the said damsel desired a role to play in her own salvation. Regardless of manly actions, if the balance of a relationship was wrong the woman's power would seep away with the risk that her marriage, like that of vampiric coupling, was likely to be akin to a living death. John Stuart Mill summed this up thirty years prior to the writing of *Dracula*:

> The masters of women wanted more than simple obedience, and they turned the whole force of education to effect their purpose. All women are brought up from the very earliest years in the belief that their ideal of character is the very opposite to that of men; not self-will, and government by self-control, but submission, and yielding to the control of others. All the moralities tell them that it is the duty of women, and all the current sentimentalities that it is their nature, to live for others; to make a complete abnegation of themselves, and to have no life but in their affections. And by their affections are meant the only ones they are allowed to have – those to the men with whom they are connected, or to the children who constitute an additional and indefeasible tie between them and a man. When we put together three things – first, the natural attraction between opposite sexes; secondly, the wife's entire dependence on the husband, every privilege or pleasure she has being either his gift, or depending entirely on his will; and lastly, that the principal object of human pursuit, consideration, and all object of social ambition, can in general be sought or obtained by her only through him, it would be a miracle if the object of being attractive to men had not become the polar star of feminine education and formation of character. And this great means of influence over the minds of women having been acquired, an instinct of selfishness made men avail themselves of it to the utmost as a means of holding women in subjection, by representing to them meekness, submissiveness, and resignation of all individual will into the hands of a man, as an essential part of sexual attractiveness.[28]

[28] Mill, *The Subjection of Women*, p. 29.

Mill's ideas were originally published in 1869, and that Stoker was still promoting this change almost thirty years later indicates how society as a whole had resisted alteration to the *status quo* in the interim period. Lack of viable options for women forced them to subject themselves to the whims of the men who controlled their beings, their possessions and their futures. It is clear that this is the case between Arthur and Lucy and the inability to modify tradition dooms their relationship when even noble virility could not effect a fruitful outcome:

> [Lucy's] body shook and quivered and twisted in wild contortions [...] Arthur never faltered. He looked like the figure of Thor as his untrembling arm rose and fell, driving deeper and deeper the mercy-bearing stake [...] his face was set and high duty seemed to shine through it [...] and then the writhing and quivering of the body became less, and the teeth ceased to champ, and the face to quiver. Finally it lay still.
>
> *D*, p. 192.

This is the nearest the couple come to a consummation and sexual climax, but it is between a man with a wooden phallus and the un-dead embodiment of his fiancée; the futility of forcing male potency on the inert female is condemned by Stoker as a sterile task. While Lucy responds to Arthur's touch, the outcome is stillness; all his masculine vigour cannot produce a happy fertile union while it is such a one-sided, dominating affair. Since Grant Allen insisted that 'we hold it a slight not to be borne that anyone should impugn our essential manhood' and that 'virility is the keynote to all that is best and most forceful in the masculine character', situations such as that of Arthur and Lucy where, regardless of how forceful he is, Arthur's virility is wasted needed to change.[29] Reluctance to readjust the things 'most forceful' in relationships possibly invited much resistance as a result of views such as those of Allen. His choice of the word 'forceful' highlights the gap that

[29] Allen, 'Plain Words on the Woman Question', p. 452.

continued to exist between the genders as forcefulness was a trait associated with virility and thus masculinity and highlights that many did not contemplate more balanced unions between the sexes. As long as men insisted – or still insist – on being 'forceful', a state of gender equality can never be reached.

Stoker, however, does use the battle to save Lucy to promote a number of significant changes to gendered thought dynamics in his Crew of Light. The weight of supremacy assumed by the scientific thinkers indicated a change in the balance of power between physical and cerebral ability. In all matters pertaining to the girl's illness the doctors take control. This is underpinned by the willingness of the men of action to abide by these decisions, demurring only when it may impugn their honour. On returning from their adventures, both Arthur and Quincey seem to have no relevant purpose to their lives apart from resting on the manly laurels of their previous exploits and wooing Lucy. Quincey 'tells stories' that impress Lucy especially as he 'looks so young that it seems almost impossible that he has been to so many places and has had such adventures' (*D*, pp. 58-59). Seward, on the other hand, has qualified as a doctor and set up his own establishment; his *résumé*, according to Lucy, is admirable:

> Being handsome, well off, and of good birth. He is a doctor and really clever [...] he is only nine-and-twenty, and he has an immense lunatic asylum all under his own care.
>
> *D*, p. 56.

Seward chooses the path of working gentleman, combining his education and wealth to support a career that allows him social respect and admiration. In line with his scientific research, he utilises the very latest technology recording his diary on phonograph. By his own admission, he likes to be 'master of the facts' with a mind which likes to question and

probe for elucidation (*D*, p. 61). Like Holmes, he is a man of science and will use this, rather than brute force, to track deviance. After his rejection by Lucy he has 'a sort of empty feeling; nothing in the world seems to be of sufficient importance to be worth doing' (*D*, p. 61). Again, this displays a parallel with Sherlock Holmes and the need to follow a cause or sink into lethargy. Despite his professional success, Seward professes a desire for a 'strong [...] unselfish cause to make [him] work' indicating that 'that would indeed be happiness' (*D*, p. 71). This correlation between Stoker's character and that of Conan Doyle indicates that both authors set the same attributes for manliness to flourish. A balanced masculinity had to incorporate intellectual and physical activity as, in isolation, neither would yield a well-rounded *fin-de-siècle* male. This echoes Kimmel's theory that 'masculinity is a homosocial enactment. We [men] test ourselves, perform heroic feats, take enormous risks, all because we want other men to grant us our manhood.'[30] Seward was about to be granted full manly status for his ability to combine his talents - medical and masculine - to fight for right, banish evil and ensure the safety of humanity.

Seward's role model for a balanced male figure, is provided by Stoker in the form of Professor Abraham Van Helsing. An indication that this man is the epitome of equilibrium in manliness is advanced as Stoker bestowed his own given name on this hero. Stoker expressed the opinion that the unworthy 'must not *expect* the pleasures or profits of the just – love and honour, troops of friends, and the esteem of good men', attributes which were of paramount importance to him. [31] Among his correspondence is a quotation from

[30] Kimmel, *The Gender of Desire*, p. 33.
[31] Bram Stoker, 'The Censorship of Fiction' in *The Nineteenth Century* (September 1908), p. 487. (Italicised words within quotation are my own addition).

Thomas Donaldson's book *Walt Whitman, the Man*.[32] It is written on an envelope and signed by Walt Whitman. Carefully preserved and treasured by Stoker, it reads:

> Bram Stoker, born Abraham, and who should still be Abraham because of manhood and breadth of humanity.[33]

These were the very attributes Stoker instils in Van Helsing by associating him with the aura that surrounds the nomenclature, indicating that the combination of 'manhood' with 'breadth of humanity' were essential attributes for successful manliness.

Seward prepares Arthur for Van Helsing's idiosyncratic mixture of these virtues by explaining:

> No matter on what grounds he comes, we must accept his wishes. He is a seemingly arbitrary man, but this is because he knows what he is talking about better than anyone else. He is a philosopher and a metaphysician, and one of the most advanced scientists of his day; and he has [...] an absolutely open mind. This, with an iron nerve, a temper of the ice-brook, an indomitable resolution, self-command and toleration exalted from virtues to blessings, and the kindest and truest heart that beats – these form his equipment for the noble work that he is doing for mankind – work both in theory and practice, for his views are as wide as his all-embracing sympathy.
>
> *D*, p. 106.

The *fin-de-siècle* reader would thus have been instantly aware that Van Helsing portrayed a masculinity that combined scientific knowledge with a pure heart, the wisdom of life and an appreciation of the humanity of man. He thus becomes the person to temper the youthful ardour in the younger men's characters with wisdom and experience and to control any exigency that may arise. In his quiet yet authoritative way, the professor leads

[32] Thomas Donaldson, *Walt Whitman, the Man* (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1896).
[33] Stoker Collection, 7/72.

his young protégé and friends through the unimaginable, gruesome tasks they have to face; with his sometimes dogmatic, sometimes gentle, persuasions, he assumes a patriarchal role which cements the Crew of Light into a close-knit, confident homosocial brotherhood.

Following their formation, dealing with Lucy's infirmities is a psychotherapeutic experience for the Crew; it allows them to leap the hesitation of the Fantastic and begin to understand the reality of the vampiric threat they and society are under. Stoker uses this to emphasise the hesitational leap *fin-de-siècle* society had to make in order that greater levels of gender equality could banish threats from outmoded values. The causal values of the various paths of the Crew of Light towards understanding these issues underlines the category of manhood to which they belong. Seward, the scientist, struggles to come to terms with concepts his training has taught him cannot exist, even to the point of facing the horrific idea that his mentor's mind could 'have become [...] unhinged' (*D,* p. 181). Seward's strictly scientific mind is slow to accept any ideas that are outwith his own proven knowledge; he closes his mind to lateral thought seeking safety and comfort in 'rational explanation[s]'. Despite his long and detailed involvement with Lucy's illness, his actions are of one with a logical train of thought. Even when they find the puncture marks in Lucy's neck his medical sense is sharp:

> It at once occurred to me that this wound [...] might be the means of that manifest loss of blood.

However, mirroring society's resistance to change, he cannot, at that point, make the leap into the realms of the unknown:

> but I abandoned the idea as soon as it formed, for such a thing could not be. The whole bed would have been drenched to a scarlet

> with the blood which the girl must have lost to leave such a pallor as she had before the transfusion.
>
> Both *D*, p. 115.

Seward's incorrect interpretation of Van Helsing's orders that he 'must not sleep all night' in order to protect Lucy are a result of his adherence to the purely scientific (*D*, p. 116). Despite the professor's emphasis that, 'she is in your charge. If you leave her and harm befall her, you shall not sleep easy hereafter', Seward, inferior physically and mentally to the challenge at this point, 'was 'dog-tired', and could not have sat up had [he] tried', but, 'lay on the sofa and forgot about everything' (*D*, pp. 116 & 117). His brain, rather overloaded with a mixture of unrequited love and inexplicable facts, closes down and forgets 'about everything' failing both himself and Lucy at a time of extreme danger. Neglecting his knightly vigil, like a noviciate, Seward, like Lucy, fails to intuit the dangers posed. Lucy does not comprehend, as Mina does later, the severity of her position and the man she relies on to protect her has not yet realised the urgent need for complete trust in the members of his close, homosocial group. Not only does he let the damsel-in-distress down very badly, he also lacks the manly stoicism needed to fulfil the task. This behaviour highlights the imperative that, for her own future survival, woman needed recourse to her own reserves in order to fight adversity, especially as men who focused only on one aspect of life, such as the scientific, lost touch with the preparedness to deal with many of life's eventualities and relinquished the ability to fight for the said damsel. Pericles Lewis posits that in

> Gothic novels, the strong emphasis on the evidentiary status [*of events*] [...] conflicts with the fantastic content of the plots and draws attention to the need for basic faith in the rational structure and explicability of the universe as the precondition of Victorian mechanistic scientific inquiry. [...] there is an element of faith in

> the overall rationality of the universe that makes possible the positivist emphasis on "just the facts."[34]

A scientific mind could thus concentrate on the facts, mechanically building them into a reasoned form that forces the outcome to another, possibly fantastic, hitherto unknown conclusion. This idea is proven when Van Helsing teaches Seward through the oxymoron of 'possible impossibilities' and desires his pupil 'to believe in things [he] cannot'. The professor elucidates:

> I heard once of an American who so defined faith: "that which enables us to believe things which we know to be untrue." [...] He meant that we shall have an open mind, and not let a little bit of truth check the rush of a big truth [...] We get the small truth first [...] We keep him, and we value him, but all the same we must not let him think himself the only truth in the universe.

Stoker, within this quotation, alerts society to the need for open-mindedness in relation to challenging changes. Once Seward understands that he must not 'let some previous conviction injure the receptivity of [his] mind with regard to some strange matter', he takes the leap of faith needed to reconcile his cerebral aspects with the need for action creating a combination that enables him to move ahead as a modern male equal to the situations which face him (All *D*, pp. 172-173).

Quincey and Arthur, being non-scientific, do not share Seward's struggle to understand and accept Van Helsing's facts. Quincey, the 'moral Viking', who has seen

[34] Pericles Lewis, 'Epistemology of the Victorian Gothic Novel' in Elizabeth Miller, ed., *Dracula the Shade and the Shadow* (Essex: Desert Island Books, 1998), pp. 74-75. (Italicised words within quotation are my own addition).

many strange things during his travels and adventures, and thus has already made the leap of faith required to overcome Fantastic suspension, gives his trust readily:

> I don't quite see [Van Helsing's] drift, but I swear he's honest; and that's good enough for me.
>
> *D*, p. 156 & p. 182.

A shake of the hand seals this pact; it is an understanding between gentlemen in an open and honest way that epitomises the American's credo, but underlines his lack of ability for the deeper thought processes prerequisite to survival in the approaching new century. A true action hero, who, like Allan Quatermain or Daniel Dravot, came close to winning the maiden, but, being a man's man more familiar with the challenges of adventuring rather than of wooing, is unsuitable as a long-term, or reliable, partner.[35] While Seward can add physical activity to his pre-existing cerebral strength, Quincey cannot accomplish the same feat in reverse. He is thus unable to attain the balance of skills required to perform manliness in the *fin de siècle* and beyond. Quincey represents a genre of masculinity that was coming to an end, as he himself does at the close of the novel. In contrast, Arthur, who has to consider his family name, is a bit more wary:

> I don't quite like to buy a "pig in a poke," and if it be anything in which my honour as a gentleman or my faith as a Christian is concerned, I cannot make such a promise.
>
> Both *D*, p. 182.

These are the tenets by which Arthur, as an English aristocrat, set his store; both would be manipulated before affairs were over. Honour and faith formed a proteus which constantly

[35] Allan Quatermain, who constantly rescues females, but never settles with one on a permanent basis, is the hero of a number of novels by Sir Henry Rider Haggard including *King Solomon's Mines,* published in 1885, (London: Penguin, 1994); *Alan Quatermain*, published in 1887, (London: Penguin, 1995) and *Alan's Wife* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894). Daniel Dravot is the adventuring hero who foreswore women, but was destroyed by the weakness of succumbing to desire in Rudyard Kipling's short story 'The Man Who Would be King' in *The Phantom Rickshaw and Other Eerie Tales* (Allahabad: A.H. Wheeler & Co. and London: Sampson, Low, Marston & Company, 1888), p. 66.

had to change its aspect to adapt and survive, as would England's nobility, in order to respond to the challenges of *fin-de-siècle* social change. In responding to the multitudinous issues surrounding Lucy's death and eternal rest, the Crew bond into a unified group prepared to utilise all their skills and talents to fight the evil that has overcome Lucy. They are braced to counter the dangers Dracula poses to their hopes of a peaceful life both on earth and in Heaven. Van Helsing assures the younger men: 'we must be brave of heart and unselfish, and do our duty, and all will be well' (*D*, p. 154). Their masculinities have to be constantly evolving entities that respond both to prevailing circumstances and to the demands of the era.

These evolving masculinities are driven by constant changes and challenges that the author creates for his heroes; Stoker's next trial for them is the changing face of womanhood. Dracula's next victim, Mina Harker, is a far more resourceful woman than Lucy has been and this necessitates a readjustment in gendered thinking and positions in order to save her. On his first meeting with her, Van Helsing realises that she is a 'so clever woman'. Mina, as a married woman, carries none of the romantic connotations for the members of the Crew that Lucy did and is thus viewed very differently. The professor openly praises Mina:

> There are darknesses in life, and there are lights; you are one of the lights [...] you have given me hope [...] that there are good women still left to make life happy – good women, whose lives and whose truths may make good lessons for the children that are to be.
>
> *D*, pp. 165-166.

Mina, who epitomises an acceptable balance between New Woman skills and womanly charms and is approved as a progenitor of *fin-de-siècle* eugenics, is the doyenne who must

be preserved for the future evolution of the English race. It is in the protection of Mina that the pattern of medieval French chivalry can once more be referenced. In the early twelfth century the idea of courtly love appeared in France and signalled a change in men's attitudes towards women. This was in response to a number of radical factors which could be seen to have parallels in *fin-de-siècle* thinking. The teachings of the medieval Christian church vigorously 'opposed all extra-marital relations and those between husband and wife when not motivated by a desire for progeny'; the clergy tried to stop men beating their wives and argued that 'the fact God had created woman from man's rib rather than from some lower member such as a foot proved that He intended her to be man's equal'.[36] Medieval women themselves aided this argument as they were 'often called upon to play the part of men when left as chatelaine of the castle in their husbands' absence, or head of the family of the yeoman who had to follow his lord to the field' they also proved their worth by 'directing the defence of their strongholds against besieging hosts' gaining for themselves a position of strength and dignity in their husbands' absence.[37] Courtly love

> was the emotion produced by unrestrained adoration of a lady. Love might be rewarded by smiles, kisses or still higher favours, but their presence or absence had no essential effect on love itself. All the benefits and torments which came to the lover grew out of simple worship of a lovely and worthy woman. This love was caused by the lady's good qualities – her beauty, charm, wit and character.[38]

Moreover, courtly love from men equated to a rise in his chivalric qualities. Painter explains that 'the term *preux* implied the possession of the chief virtue of feudal chivalry and was the most honourable appellation that could be applied to a knight' and he quotes

[36] Painter, *French Chivalry: Chivalric Ideas and Practices in Medieval France*, p. 105.
[37] John Boyd-Kinnear, 'The Social Position of Women in the Present Age', in Josephine Butler, ed., *Woman's Work and Woman's Culture,* p. 351, and Painter, *French Chivalry: Chivalric Ideas and Practices in Medieval France*, p. 106.
[38] Painter, *French Chivalry: Chivalric Ideas and Practices in Medieval France,* p. 112.

from ‘a lament for his dead lady’ by Pons de Chapteuil: ‘the most valiant counts, dukes, and barons were more *preux* because of her.’[39] This could translate directly to *Dracula*; the Crew of Light, now joined by Jonathan Harker, all worship Mina in this courtly way and her worthiness drives them to be *preux* and accomplish greater deeds to secure their intertwined futures. This bestowed a social equality within the group and raised their manly standing as it did for the medieval knights, enhancing their bond through their chivalric quest.

The bonds between Mina, Van Helsing, Seward and Jonathan are set by the sharing of diaries and technology and allow each an insight into the others’ inner feelings. This also allows them a special relationship through their converging experiences and acceptance of unnatural circumstances. However, while Mina is keen to share all: ‘we need have no secrets amongst us; working together and with absolute trust, we can be stronger than if some of us are in the dark’, the men are still hindered by their obsession to control the decisions regarding suitable courses of action for women (*D*, p. 197). Mina, while portrayed as a strong woman, brings softness to the group as a counterbalance to the male, warrior-like emotions. The men, therefore, feel able to share their grief with her; this ensured that they deal with their emotions appropriately without affect to their manhood. Seward’s phonographic diary lets Mina hear ‘the anguish of [his] heart’ and Arthur breaks down completely, becoming ‘quite hysterical’ after discussing Lucy’s death with Mina. While Quincey applies the manly hand to Arthur’s shoulder and then discretely leaves, Mina consoles him. She instinctively feels this to be correct behaviour as she writes:

> I suppose there is something in woman’s nature that makes a man free to break down before her and express his feelings on the

[39] Painter, *French Chivalry: Chivalric Ideas and Practices in Medieval France,* p. 113.

> tender or emotional side without feeling it derogatory to his manhood.
>
> *D*, p. 203.

Stoker gave his reader an insight into the difficulties a man faced when controlling his emotions; Arthur sinks into hysteria, releasing his pent-up emotion as 'he had been unable to speak with anyone, as a man must speak in his time of sorrow. There was no woman whose sympathy could be given to him' (*D*, p. 203). While Arthur's homosocial bonds are important to him, they force him to internalise his emotions in a manner that could be dangerous to his 'mental equilibrium'; his complete and instant emotional venting illuminates how hard he has struggled to contain his true feelings and how ready they are to burst through (*D*, p. 206). Regardless of how manly an exterior is presented to the public eye, a balance has to be found that allows this performance to be relaxed or the male psyche may be damaged. Lord Godalming joins the band of Mina's courtly lovers in his 'esteem' for her and in his desire to 'be like a brother' to her. This affords Mina an influential protector and Arthur a 'sister' he can confide in and relax with. Again, Stoker emphasises the importance of maintaining balance within relationships between men and women based on mutual respect and trust. The inference is that society as a whole needed to work towards this balance and trust as they moved forward into the new century. If attitudes remained static, gender imbalance may have been ignored and unimproved amid other social changes during *the fin de siècle*.

At the group's first complete meeting, Stoker emphasises the potential threat should they fail to function with equilibrium as Van Helsing reveals the spine-chilling crux of the threat:

> To fail here, is not mere life or death. It is that we become as him; that we henceforth become foul things of the night like him – without heart or conscience, preying on the bodies and the souls of those we love best. To us forever are the gates of heaven shut; for who shall open them to us again? We go on for all time abhorred by all; a blot on the face of God's sunshine; an arrow in the side of Him who died for man.
>
> *D*, p. 209.

This speech provides a parallel between masculinity, society and the Woman Question. Stoker's hyperbolic suggestion warns of the consequences of failure in the quest for the moral elevation of society. He proposes that, if left unchecked, many men's sexual ethics will to sink to a level with 'foul things' who 'prey' on their women folk by sucking their strength in a one-way exchange that would defy even the tenets of Christianity. While Stoker links degeneracy with eternal damnation, a correlation can be made between this and Grand's social-purity opinions of characters such as Menteith who, a reader may infer, should also be denied entry at 'the gates of heaven'. Both authors reiterate that redressing the gender balance and the moral fight against disease was imperative for the virtuous continuation of English society. Thinking of this as a parody of society, the reader is led to believe that this group, and the changes it would make, are all that stands between humanity and abject terror. However, masculine pomposity almost leads to ruination. Despite Mina understanding all the information, possible horrific outcomes should they fail, and openly joining hands in their 'solemn compact' when 'it did not even occur to [her] to draw back', the rest of the Crew exclude her from their future plans (*D*, p. 210). In this case, there is a serious conflict of opinions which Mina does not, as yet, feel able to challenge. While the men follow a 'chivalrous' path insisting she must be their 'star and [their] hope', Mina sees herself as part of the group's strength. She sums this up in 'manlike, they have told me to go to bed and sleep; as if a woman can sleep when those she loves are in danger' (*D*, p. 214). It is somewhat puzzling that after their experiences regarding Lucy's attacks, in their attempt to 'save another victim,' they

completely fail to consider the danger of leaving Mina alone and unprotected, especially as Dracula is ensconced next door. An explanation of this could be Stoker's attempt for the Crew to mirror society, as it took them an inordinate time to realise that women's role must become inclusive if they are to have a successful future. Stoker showed, in Mina's reluctance to interfere and the men's second exclusion of her, that it is not easy for either sex to negotiate new ideas and behaviours which will lead to a successful outcome.

Stoker appreciated that it was hard for men, who for centuries had dominated and protected women, to change this behaviour and this is depicted in the constant reluctance of the crew to expose Mina to 'sights and sounds and smells of horror which she might never forget' (*D*, p. 223). What they fail to intuit is that in Mina's psychic link to Dracula and her full understanding of what her future could be, she is trapped within a horror far beyond their understanding and partly of their making. This provides direct parallels with the terror of characters such as the trapped woman in 'The Yellow Wallpaper' and the real-life lady in Frederick Treves' hospital room and makes more explicit the horrors that men unwittingly condemned women to suffer through their patriarchal attitudes.[40]

As long as the Crew are busily congratulating themselves on saving Mina from things which are 'too great a strain for a woman to bear' and pompously conclude that they are 'all men of the world [...] who ha[d] been in many tight places in [their] time' while deciding what was 'no place for a woman', they continue to follow the wrong chivalric

[40] Perkins Gilman, 'The Yellow Wallpaper' (a fuller discussion of this text can be found in chapter four.)
Frederick Treves, 'A Case of Nerves' in *The Elephant Man and Other Reminiscences*. (This short story tells of the terrors of a woman who had been committed to a mental asylum by her husband. She had to lie stationary in her bed while listening to a woman being operated on directly above her. She also watched blood from the operation seep through the ceiling from the floor above as it dripped and spread on her white bedcover.)

code and continued, like the knights of the *chansons de geste,* to leave women open to abuse from unseen external quarters instead of allowing her to step into her own power and accept responsibility for her own future. As a result of their pomposity and reluctance to evolve, Dracula is able to exploit their absence and their exclusivity leaves the Crew unable to interpret the portents of Mina's pallor and lethargy or of Renfield's screams during the first two attacks. In the years preceding the *fin de siècle* there had been a strong discourse against the type of behaviour enacted by the Crew at this point. In 1869, John Boyd-Kinnear, the Scottish Liberal politician and advocate of women's rights, put forward ideas which could almost have been a prediction of this:

> What is it, indeed, that we reduce women to, when we argue that they have no right to meddle with public affairs [...] no right to occupy themselves with any real intellectual pursuits, no right to take an interest in aught outside their families, no right to an education save that which is devoted to showing off their charms? Do we not in truth reduce them to the mere slaves of the harem? Do we not, like those who keep such slaves, deny in fact that they have any souls? What can they do with souls, if nature means them only to be toys of our idle hours, the adornment of our ease and wealth, to be worshiped as idols but never taken for helpmates, permitted at most to gaze from afar at the battles of life – to crown the victor with a wreath, or to shed weak tears for the dead? But even those who [...] use arguments that mean so, know well that in their hearts they belie the words they utter. They know that in their straits they turn to women for sympathy, because women have understood their struggles; they seek women's counsel, because they know that women are intellectually fit to advise them; and they only affect contempt for female capacity because of the pitiful pride that refuses to acknowledge a capacity that in many things is on a level with their own, and, if in some things lower, in other things is higher than theirs.[41]

This 'pitiful pride' as displayed by the Crew of Light leaves Mina's soul open to attack from one who would treat her as a mere slave. The men do try to respond to Mina's

[41] Boyd-Kinnear, 'The Social Position of Women in the Present Age', pp. 355-356.

'capacity' by including her in planning, but when she is under threat they adopt a patriarchal approach that ignores any ability she may have to fend for herself or to make reasoned choices regarding her own fate. In *Dracula*, Stoker points out that the time had come for men to allow women to participate in 'the battles of life' and to add their skills to those of the men in order for both genders to contribute meaningfully to the betterment of society. He depicted the outcome of failure to do this as unthinkable.

As with many New Woman characters, the unthinkable price for Mina's participation is almost her immortal soul. The Crew, chasing down coffins around London, fail to link Mina's countenance with Dracula's visits to Renfield and it is only once Renfield exposes his bravery in attempting to keep the vampire from the abandoned lady that the Crew finally understand what has been occurring in their absence. Too late, they break in on the rape scene once Mina has been forced to imbibe the blood of the Count. Stoker's ideas concur with those of Schreiner's that

> the changed or changing conditions of [...] society have made woman's acquiescence no longer necessary or desirable.[42]

Only once the Crew realise the need for Mina to be fully integrated into their band, and the harm they have caused by excluding her, is she able to contribute fully to the proceedings. This realisation on the part of both sexes changes the dynamics of the group as the men understand that Mina's 'acquiescence' is definitely not 'desirable' and that she has both the mental and physical stoicism to overcome her own perilous condition and hunt down the monster. Not only that, but with exemplary equanimity she utilises her psychic link with the vampire to guide and organise the Crew to effectively stalk their prey. Finally

[42] Olive Schreiner, *Women and Labour* (London: Virago, 1978), p. 14.

working together with a state of comradely rapport between the genders allows them success until, faced with the fiend, Jonathan, in an attempt to establish his manly prowess, and Quincey, in a final display of 'friendship, loyalty and reckless courage', decide to ignore all Van Helsing's previous advice and stab Dracula with their knives.[43] This regression to savage manhood results in the death of Quincey and also in the vampire's dissolution to dust, a ploy he has often adopted to effect his escape throughout the novel, indicating that reversion to savagery as opposed to a balanced, intelligent approach would never produce a satisfactory or permanent solution.

Exactly why Stoker did not write a definitive death for Dracula using the methods so vociferously prescribed by Van Helsing will remain a mystery. There can be little doubt, from his other writings, that he could invent a gory ending; this is particularly evident in his short story 'The Squaw' where, in graphic detail, Elias P Hutcheson receives a horrendous punishment for an accident to a kitten.[44] As proposed in chapter 6, the ending could indicate that Mina's blood, tainted as it is by her vampiric consummation, will run through future generations of English children, or equally it may be that Stoker intended to leave the novel open-ended to facilitate a sequel. What it does show, however, is that if society does not establish equilibrium between the sexes and promote a vigilant upbringing for their offspring, the evil lying dormant beneath the surface has the possibility to re-emerge. Both women and men had to fight long and hard to negotiate and adapt the delineation of *fin-de-siècle* gender positions and the momentum had to be carried forward together with respect to enable society as a whole to develop beneficially. Stoker's handling of fluctuating social gender constructs in *Dracula* shows substantial agreement

[43] Clive Leatherdale, *Dracula the Novel and the Legend* (Essex: Desert Island Books, 2001), p. 133.
[44] Stoker, *Dracula's Guest and Other Weird Stories*, pp. 37-49.

with the New Woman position, but it also illustrates that even when men are willing to change, it is difficult and they will make many mistakes along the way. In common with New Women heroines' battles to explore their femininity, *fin-de-siècle* heroes struggled to conjecture how their masculinities would meet social changes instigated by shifting gender planes. Also like their female counterparts, it was by supporting each other to overcome difficulties that they could move forward with success. The importance of the homosocial bond can, therefore, not be underestimated as a tool for mutual substantiation of masculine constructs amongst its group members.

It is clear that Stoker understood that change was necessary for both genders in order to re-establish equilibrium within relationships. He also realised that for this to happen with any chance of success, men had to be at ease with the changes it wrought upon them, and the confidence homosocial bonding brought to this equation was, and still is, of paramount importance to evolving masculinities.

CHAPTER IX

THE EMERGENT URBAN WARRIOR

High born bucks of the period, mincing ladies, swaggering bullies, scheming courtiers – see how they are planning and pushing and striving each to attain his own petty object![1]

'The epic that epitomises any given age is written when that age is nearing its end, when its carefully realised ethos is seriously threatened by decay and conflict from within'. In quoting Accardo, Rosemary Jann highlights late nineteenth-century societal concerns within 'a period overshadowed by fears of cultural decadence and increasing fragmentation.'[2] As a number of male authors began to show varying degrees of support for gender changes, the voices of ever-increasing numbers of subaltern counterpublics, both male and female, opened the field of discussion. The result of this was that the roles of both genders began to evolve. Angelique Richardson explains that 'it is [...] clear that women at this time were exploring new spaces, new interiors which had previously been denied them as they told their own stories and, in doing so, constructed *themselves*.'[3] Because of this, male authors responded, emulating the courses women writers were using to explore these spaces - utilising them to explore their own narratives and to address social deviances which they considered were no longer acceptable.

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[1] Conan Doyle, *The Narrative of John Smith* (London: The British Library, 2011), p. 23.
[2] Rosemary Jann, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: Detecting Social Order* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995), p. 6.
[3] Richardson, *Women Who Did*, p. lxv-lxvi.

1888 had highlighted the heinous crimes that could be perpetrated when deviant masculinity was severely out of balance; the Ripper murders, with the suspicion that these horrors were perpetrated by an educated gentleman, had awakened London society to a level of hysteria previously unimagined in relation to a crime. The impotence of the Metropolitan Police to deal with the Ripper mystery fuelled the spiralling concerns that society felt with regard to the undermining of their safety:

> expressions of social and epistemological disorientation were coupled with denunciations of the representatives of law and order [...] Inept bureaucracy, the faulty leadership of the police commissioner, Sir Charles Warren, who was trying to "militarise" the police, [and] futile competition between two police forces (the City and the Metropolitan) aggravated a situation already experienced as chaotic.[4]

General concerns regarding the police were whipped into frenzy by press reportage of the incidents and their vociferous condemnation of the 'ignominious police failures' to solve these crimes and render the streets of London safe once more.[5] Time was thus opportune for the appearance of a 'guardian of observation' who could 'draw the sting of the threats of city living'.[6] Placing a new emphasis on detection and realignment of the social order, Sherlock Holmes redressed the balance by investigating and solving crimes in a manner that was reassuring to an anxious readership:

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[4] Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, p. 197. (A full and informative discussion of the implications to society of the Jack the Ripper murders can be found in chapter seven of this book (pp. 191-228).)
[5] *The Daily Telegraph*, 1st October 1888, as quoted in Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, p. 197.
[6] Martin Willis, 'Jack the Ripper, Sherlock Holmes and the Narrative of Detection', in Alexandra Warwick and Martin Willis, eds., *Jack the Ripper: Media, Culture, History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 151; and Stephen Knight, *Form and Ideology in Crime Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), p. 95, as quoted in Warwick and Willis, *Jack the Ripper: Media, Culture, History,* p. 151.

> Sherlock Holmes's mastery of the city in all its incarnations (geographical, botanical, geological, psychological, criminal) tracks, tames and makes safe the spaces of London that crime has temporarily upset.[7]

It cannot be underestimated, when assessing the success of the Holmes stories, that the combination of the Ripper murders and the distribution network of *The Strand Magazine* combined to appeal to Conan Doyle's reading public at a time of general fear and alarm when they were in sore need of a hero who would define and re-establish social boundaries. Jann points out that 'allowing clients to tell their own stories keeps the reader outside the crime, sharing the clients' confusion and excluded from Holmes's insights, except those he deigns to reveal.'[8] In this way, modes of social behaviour were probed and revealed together with right and acceptable outcomes that warned against re-transgression. Watson's careful recounting of the facts invites the inclusion of the reader as partner to these deductions giving them confidence that crime can be solved and boundaries made safe to the satisfaction of all.

Many of these boundaries are addressed in the Holmes canon which is a veritable compendium of insights into men and society at all levels in an era covering both sides of the *fin de siècle*. At a time of major social changes, Conan Doyle reassures his readers by presenting them with a wide variety of modes of manliness: the upright, the suspect, the shady and the downright evil; he covers such male bastions as men's clubs, nepotistic tendencies, secret societies, paternal practices and, probably most famously, the criminal mastermind. Readers can be confident that ethical values will be promoted and deviant ones dealt with by

[7] Willis, 'Jack the Ripper, Sherlock Holmes and the Narrative of Detection', p. 152.
[8] Jann, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: Detecting Social Order*, p. 23.

Conan Doyle's detecting heroes. As Holmes and Watson romp through their many adventures in Victorian England, they encounter many deviant practices which threaten to upset the balance of society within this transitional period. While Stoker warns society to be forever vigilant against monstrous masculinity, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle reassured *fin-de-siècle* readers with a hero who was educated and constantly aware. Sherlock Holmes' task is to restore confidence in the stability of English culture by preventing hitherto undetected dangers from infiltrating society's most important and most vulnerable levels.

The effectiveness of the Holmes canon was its ability to reach multiple levels of society facilitated in no small part by its inclusion, from July 1891, in the *The Strand Magazine*, which was described by its editor, George Newnes, as 'cheap, healthful literature.'[9] The success of this publication came after the era of the 'Penny Dreadful' and appealed to a readership which had been changing in the decades preceding the *fin de siècle*. As Rosemary Jann explains:

> The middle classes gained in economic and political power [...] they consolidated their cultural authority by remodelling the definition of the gentleman. True gentility was progressively redefined to stress traits of mind and character rather than inherited wealth and lineage, and the right to cultural leadership came to depend more on an aristocracy of talent than on one of birth.[10]

Society was being redefined by the gentleman of education and business rather than by heredity. The dual nature of their lives involved renegotiation of traditional masculine traits as the new gentleman had to balance his aspired gentlemanly lifestyle with the need to ensure

[9] George Newnes, ed., *The Strand Magazine*, Volume 1 (January 1891), p. 2.
[10] Jann, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: Detecting Social Order,* p. 5.

that his business interests supported this. The ensuing societal variances surrounding 'gains in wealth and position [which] gave them an investment in social order and a desire for protection', fed the need for the rising gentleman to improve his mind and character in a 'healthful' manner with the goal of the solid strength of character implied by this new need for cultural leadership.[11] *The Strand Magazine*, which carried the main body of the Holmes stories, appealed to a mass, mainly male, readership and, as such, could be considered as a transition from their juvenile reading material, such as *Boy's Own Paper*, thus providing continuous examples of desirable behaviour for the *fin-de-siècle* gentleman. *The Strand Magazine* contained the same stirring stories and solid guidance as its precursor: tales of derring-do; discourses on exemplary public figures; adventure tales; gentler narratives which underlined gender roles and notes on healthy pastimes and the keeping of animals. These were slanted to appeal to a more mature, masculine readership and included more adult issues such as: comments on parliamentary debates; manly holiday pursuits; issues of dress and matters of military and racing importance.[12] *The Strand Magazine* also provided lighter relief from publications such as the *Pall Mall Gazette* which, under the editorial hand of W.T. Stead, focussed on such issues as political and sexual scandals of the day; social unrest; support for strikers and the state of London's slums.[13] Judith Walkowitz explains the phenomenon of manly advice perpetuated by these publications as

> imperatives of "hard" physical manliness, first developed in the mid- and late-nineteenth century public schools and then diffused among the propertied classes of the Anglo-Saxon world. The hallmarks of this

[11] Jann, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: Detecting Social Order*, p. 71.
[12] *The Strand Magazine*, various issues of the 1890s.
[13] Fuller information regarding W.T. Stead can be found in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* at http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36258?docPos=3 (accessed on 21/04/14)

> "virile" ethos were self-control, self-discipline and the absence of emotional expression.[14]

Inserted among *The Strand Magazine*'s tales was a new detective who perfectly exhibited 'this "virile" ethos'. He fed the 'Victorian desire for social and epistemological order' and became 'an interesting late Victorian validation of [a] new kind of culture hero – the gentleman who lives by his wits'; Holmes became the aristocrat of detectives.[15] Epitomising all the hallmarks mentioned by Walkowitz, his instant popularity is testament to the values *fin-de-siècle* society sought in a hero. Conan Doyle was thus able to explore Victorian social order and behaviours that could threaten to destabilise it, but the power of the tales was in Holmes's ability to right wrongs and reassure the public episteme.

Havelock Ellis, in his essay on Paul Bourget, likens social and epistemological order to a scientific reaction:

> A society should be like an organism. An organism, in fact, it may be resolved into a federation of smaller organisms, which may themselves be resolved into a federation of cells. The individual is a social cell. In order that the organism should perform its function with energy it is necessary that the organisms composing it should perform their functions with energy, but with a subordinated energy, and in order that these lesser organisms should themselves perform their functions with energy, it is necessary that the cells comprising them should perform their functions with energy, but with a subordinated energy. If the energy of the cells becomes independent, the lesser organisms will likewise cease to subordinate their energy to the total energy and the anarchy which is established constitutes the *decadence* of the whole. The social organism does not escape this law and enters into

[14] Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, p. 17.
[15] Christopher Pittard, 'Victorian Detective Fiction; An Introduction', at http://www.crimeculture.com/Contents/VictorianCrime.html 1 (accessed 15/4/2010); and Jann, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: Detecting Social Order*, p. 5.

> decadence as soon as the individual life becomes exaggerated beneath the influence of acquired well-being and of heredity.[16]

For society to function effectively, each individual needed to contribute the appropriate energy to support the health and development of the whole. The consequence of descent into deviance when these energies enter their decadent phase is illustrated in Holmes's arch-enemy, Professor Moriarty. Despite being a 'man of good birth and excellent education', he has 'hereditary tendencies of the most diabolical kind. A criminal strain ran in his blood, which, instead of being mollified, was increased and rendered infinitely more dangerous by his extraordinary mental powers.'[17] The reader is chilled by Holmes's admission that he has 'met an antagonist who was [his] intellectual equal' and that the detective's 'horror at [Moriarty's] crimes was lost in [...] admiration at his skill'; there was little that separated the intellect of the two men ('Final Problem', p. 437). Watson, however, puts this into perspective as he muses, 'I could not but think what a terrible criminal [Holmes] would have made had he turned his energy and sagacity against the law instead of exerting them in its defence'.[18] The delineation of choice between the two activities is clarified, but the inference regarding *modus operandi* is trenchant, along with the suggestion that it is only a matter of scruples which separates the paths a man may choose to take. The ethical motives of a gentleman, therefore, form an integral part of his manliness.

[16] Havelock Ellis, *Views and Reviews: A Selection of Uncollected Articles 1884-1932* (London: Desmond Harmsworth, N.D.), pp. 51-52.
[17] Conan Doyle, 'The Final Problem' in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 436.
[18] Conan Doyle. *The Sign of Four* in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 80.

Anthony Horowitz, in the first pastiche of the Holmes canon to be approved by the Conan Doyle Estate, takes the analogy between the foes a step further and adds an interesting dimension to the exploration of their analogous existences. Moriarty, like Holmes, has his own laboratory with the same array of equipment as his adversary and directly informs Watson that he has 'made a science out of crime'.[19] However, while Holmes physically and personally involves himself in his every case, Horowitz's Moriarty tries 'not to dirty [his] own hands', being 'an abstract thinker'. He states that 'crime in its purest form is, after all, an abstract, like music. I orchestrate. Others perform'; he is an evil puppet master who would disturb the natural energies and equilibrium of society.[20] The cerebral ability of both men may be equal, but the way this impacts on society shows the antithetical tensions that builds between them. Holmes is the nemesis of criminal London with his *raison d'être* to expose and correct crime; Moriarty's threat comes from his insidious ability to control these criminal elements for his own amusement and to the detriment of civilised society. Holmes describes him as 'the greatest schemer of all time, the organiser of every devilry, the controlling brain of the underworld – a brain which might have made or marred the destiny of nations'; Conan Doyle again reinforces the fine delineation between chosen paths of good or evil.[21] By doing this, he highlights the boundaries between the 'soothing [...] tranquil English home' and the 'wild, dark business' that the detective duo must vanquish from society (*Sign of Four*, p. 83). These opposing masculinities illustrated to a *fin-de-siècle* readership the need for vigilance in recognition of use or misuse of intellectual abilities.

[19] Anthony Horowitz, *The House of Silk* (London: Orion Books, 2011), pp. 192-3.
[20] Horowitz, *The House of Silk*, p. 195.
[21] Conan Doyle, *The Valley of Fear* in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 842.

But, as Moriarty's 'hereditary tendencies' were those which caused his 'diabolical' deviances, Conan Doyle, like Stoker, Grand and Corelli, warned against blindly trusting traditional aristocratic males to exhibit a gentlemanly, upright moral standing within society. The chilling propinquity of Holmes and Moriarty's relationship to criminal London is produced by Conan Doyle's remarkable arachnid trope; it illustrates the extent of the networks both hero and villain have taken pains to construct in order to effect control over the metropolis. Protecting London as the epicentre of his practice is imperative to Holmes as 'he loved to lie in the very centre of five millions of people, with his filaments stretching out and running through them, responsive to every little rumour or suspicion of unsolved crime.'[22] Juxtaposed with the description of Moriarty as 'he sits motionless, like a spider in the centre of his web, but that web has a thousand radiations, and he knows well every quiver of each of them' the two adversaries portray a close affinity in their working practices alongside their intellectual equality ('Final Problem', p. 437). This provides the reader with the realisation that there is very little to divide the saviour of society's ills from he who would destroy all that respectable men have built. Conan Doyle warns that danger is not always immediately visible when he uses the trope again in *The Valley of Fear* when Holmes describes Moriarty's network as 'dozens of exiguous threads which lead vaguely towards the centre of the web where the poisonous motionless creature is lurking' (*Valley of Fear*, p. 850). Use of the word 'lurking' further defines the fine line that separates the evil man from the good and distinguishes the impact of the way men chose to distribute their masculine energies within London society. Again, Conan Doyle addresses concerns regarding Victorian society's worries that their streets had been made unsafe during the Jack the Ripper murders by the

[22] Conan Doyle 'The Adventure of the Cardboard Box in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes,* p. 307.

authorities' inabilities to identify the Ripper 'lurking' in the shadows. That Holmes has an equal knowledge and network around and within labyrinthine London is designed to reassure the reader that he will be a far more effectual at fighting crime in its heartland than the police have shown themselves to be. The creation of Holmes as the nemesis of Moriarty warns society of masculinities that could appear similarly constructed while deviating vastly in their performances; both use their skills and resources to watch for opportunities, but society has to be vigilant to discern the sentinel from the felonious malefactor. Conan Doyle, in his suggestions of the contiguous features between good and evil, challenges society's epistemological ideas regarding the constitutional components of gentlemanly behaviour.

This impression of gentlemen watchers on the web is explored by Walkowitz as a figure she terms the urban '*flaneur*': a male who delighted in the freedom to view all aspects of life within London and to act upon it as he saw fit.[23]

> The fact and fantasy of urban exploration had long been an informing feature of nineteenth-century bourgeois male subjectivity. Cosmopolitanism, "the experience of diversity in the city as opposed to a relatively confined localism" [...] was a bourgeois male pleasure. [...] "being at home in the city" was represented as a privileged gaze, betokening possession and distance.[24]

[23] Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, p. 16.
[24] Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, p. 16.

That this was an idea familiar to Victorians is evidenced by Henry James's literary transcription of this subjectivity in his essay on London, the 'dreadful, delightful city' which became his 'passion'.[25] He explains the joy of the flaneur:

> The London-lover loses himself in this swelling consciousness, delights in the idea that the town which encloses him is after all only a paved country, a state by itself.[26]

This is the defining feature that allows the flaneur the anonymity to be a watcher on a particular web and enjoy the view of humanity from a position of privilege. James also highlights that

> when a social product is so vast and various it may be approached on a thousand different sides, and liked and disliked for a thousand different reasons.[27]

His ideas provide an affinity with the contrast Conan Doyle creates between his hero and his villain. Both Holmes and Moriarty hail from respectable backgrounds and realise Walkowitz's statement that *flaneur*

> practices presupposed a privileged male subject whose identity was stable, coherent, autonomous; who was, moreover, capable through reason and its "science" of establishing a reliable universal knowledge of "man and his world".[28]

Following the assumption that both men had studied 'man and his world' and used 'reason and its science' to define themselves, once more emphasises the fine line dividing the use or

[25] Henry James, 'London', in *Collected Travel Writings: Great Britain and America* (New York: The Library of America, 1993), pp. 18 & 16.
[26] James, 'London', p. 20.
[27] James, 'London', p. 22.
[28] Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, p. 16.

misuse of this knowledge and of the potential to adapt or manipulate it for a specific purpose and outcome. However, the pair use their 'privileged gaze[s]' in diametrically disparate ways; both have successfully entwined their networks through almost every echelon of London society, but, while Holmes uses his 'quiet air of mastery' in the fight for right and justice, Moriarty is antithetically 'the Napoleon of crime' and 'Napoleon gone wrong', and sees London as 'a state by itself' that he wishes to rule ('Twisted Lip', p. 188; 'Final Problem', p. 437 and *Valley of Fear*, p. 850). Like Napoleon Bonaparte, he has '[transmuted] violence into a form of emotionally gratifying activity'.[29] Kaufman also points out the importance of 'the social feeding ground of violence: patriarchal, [...] authoritarian, class societies,' as a breeding ground for this violent approach, and the anonymity London can afford Moriarty allows him to capitalise on these aspects of Victorian society.[30] An ability to 'transform the city into a landscape of strangers and secrets' comes equally easily to protagonist and antagonist leading, through their webs, to 'the capacity to present things in fortuitous juxtapositions, in "mysterious and mystical connection." [...] one that transforms exploitation and suffering into vivid individual psychological experience.'[31] It is the tools afforded to them by their networks that allow the rivals to wage their intellectual battle; like champions over a chess game, they each enjoy the challenge of attempting to outwit the other as Moriarty 'cut deep, and yet [Holmes] just undercut him' in 'the most brilliant bit of thrust-and-parry work in the history of detection' ('Final Problem', p. 437). Conan Doyle employs the juxtapositioning of Holmes and Moriarty to expose the dangerous underbelly of James's 'dreadful, delightful city'.[32] By doing this, he highlights to his readership the constant need for awareness against the potential

[29] Kaufman, in Kimmel and Messner, *Men's Lives*, p. 4.
[30] Kaufman, in Kimmel and Messner, *Men's Lives*, p. 5.
[31] Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, p. 16.
[32] Henry James, 'London', p. 18.

for social anarchy if complaisance replaces vigilance; each man has to fight to maintain his talents and conscience on the side of right. The timely appearance of Sherlock Holmes, in *The Strand Magazine,* as Victorian society was recovering from the shock that an aristocratic intellectual could have perpetrated the horrific crimes of Jack the Ripper, endeared the heroic figure of Holmes and his fight for right to his public in a unique way that reacted to *fin-de-siècle* concerns. Conan Doyle captured a very specific crisis point in perceptions of gentlemanly behaviour to reassure the public that exemplary modes of masculinity did exist and could be relied upon to promote stability within society as long as they evolved with the moral characteristics necessary for masculinity to address the approaching new century.

Conan Doyle's perspective regarding the fight for men to retain their moral conscience is explored in his novels *Sir Nigel* and *The White Company* where he promotes the idea of upholding a chivalrous code of honour in the face of all odds.[33] Sir Nigel Loring's *raison d'être,* like Holmes, is to seek an honourable outcome from every altercation he is involved in. *The White Company* in particular, deals with a time between wars where men were free to fight for plunder rather than glory and Sir Nigel, as the protector of true chivalric ways, presents himself always as a shining example of true masculinity and honour. The escapade in *The White Company* with Bertrand du Guesclin, who was in reality a famous medieval French knight, and its emphasis on the mutual respect in which natural enemies hold each other, casts light on the relationship between Holmes and Moriarty.[34] Although du Guesclin is not evil as

[33] Conan Doyle, *Sir Nigel* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), and *The White Company* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009).
[34] Conan Doyle, *The White Company*; the entire episode mentioned can be found in chapter XXVIII 'How the comrades came over the marches of France' (pp. 237-246). More information regarding Bernard Du Guesclin

Moriarty is, that he is on an intellectual plane with and employs the same skills as his adversary allows a mutual admiration of the other to add honour to the joust. In discussing 'The Final Problem', Andrew Smith is of the opinion that Holmes

> evidences a sense that his own powers are in decline. He leaves a note for Watson written just before his final encounter with Moriarty, an encounter he realises is likely to lead to his own death, and in the note he claims that 'my career had in any case reached its crisis, and [...] no possible conclusion to it could be more congenial than this.[35]

Taken in the context of *Sir Nigel*, which Conan Doyle considered, together with *The White Company*, to be 'the most complete, satisfying and ambitious thing [he had] ever done', the *fin-de-siècle* reader could see that, far from being a moment of surrender, the 'congenial[ity]' of the choice Holmes made at the Reichenbach Falls empowers him to perform the ultimate manly chivalrous sacrifice in order to rid society of the ultimate villainous mastermind.[36] While the era of Sir Nigel required knights to constantly search for honourable frays to reinforce their manliness in medieval society, there are changes to this in Holmes's relationship to chivalry. Holmes, as the urban warrior, uses chivalric codes to respond to situations which require his intervention to maintain aspects of masculinity, but he assumes a degree of protectionism in response to the needs of others. Both Moriarty and Holmes are marginalised from society because of their rare talents and intellects and their final battle ensures that evil will perish and the hero will be remembered with pride due to the manner of his death. In laying down his life to protect England from the arch villain, Holmes becomes

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can be found by consulting: Richard Vernier, *The Flower of Chivalry: Bernard Du Guesclin and the Hundred Years War* (New York: D.S. Brewer, 2003); and Michael Jones, ed., *Letters, orders and musters of Bernard Du Guesclin, 1357-1380* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004).

[35] Smith, *Victorian Demons: Medicine, Masculinity and the Gothic at the Fin-de-Siecle*, p. 141.

[36] Conan Doyle, *Memories and Adventures*, p. 55.

the physical depiction of the phrase *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* and the embodiment of chivalrous, patriotic sacrifice.

Chivalry and manliness are linked tropes which permeate many of the Holmes stories and were thus important in maintaining masculine equilibrium within society. They are also used to allow Holmes to decide the outcome of cases in a way that does not always follow the path official justice would. In order to protect masculinity with a stable society, Conan Doyle often allows chastisement of the errant character who then continues as a valuable member of society. Occasionally, chivalry and modernity clash as in 'The Missing Three Quarter'.[37] Godfrey Staunton is upheld as a shining example of one who is dedicated to 'amateur sport, which is the best and soundest thing in England'. Leo Braudy points out that 'throughout the nineteenth century, sports had been the particular realm of an energetic male fellowship and purified physicality'.[38] Conan Doyle emphasises the importance of sport to manliness in his memoirs:

> It gives health and strength, but above all it gives a certain balance of mind without which a man is not complete. To give and to take, to accept success modestly and defeat bravely, to fight against odds, to stick to one's point, to give credit to your enemy and value to your friend – these are some of the lessons which true sport should impart.[39]

That Staunton possesses all these attributes makes him an exemplary doyen of the rugby team encompassing all the qualities beseeming of his ilk. Conan Doyle chose rugby as a sport which, to Victorians, embodied essential qualities of manliness. 'In the formulation of Thomas

[37] Conan Doyle, 'The Missing Three Quarter' in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes,* p.
[38] Leo Braudy, *From Chivalry to Terrorism: War and the Changing Nature of Masculinity*, p. 339.
[39] Conan Doyle, *Memories and Adventures*, p. 208.

Arnold, headmaster of Rugby School from 1828 to 1842, the goal was "the body of a Greek and the soul of a Christian knight" – a manliness that would reinvigorate the depleted national moral stock.'[40] This is the impression the reader is meant to infer from Conan Doyle's description of Staunton. Godfrey is devoted to the tilt of his game and described by his captain as 'a sportsman [...] down to his marrow, and he wouldn't have stopped his training and let in his skipper if it were not for some cause that was too strong for him' ('Missing Three Quarter', p. 700). This cause proves to be his socially unsuitable, though loving marriage to the daughter of an innkeeper. Like Hardy's Parson Twycott, Staunton has 'committed social suicide' by marrying below his own class.[41] Godfrey remains true to his spouse as he deserts his rugger responsibilities 'for the advancement of chivalry and the glory of [his] lad[y]' who is described as being 'as good as she was beautiful, and as intelligent as she was good' (*WC*, p. 240, and 'Missing Three Quarter', p. 710). As Sir Nigel points out:

> it is easy for a man to ride forth in the light of day, and do his devoir when all men have eyes for him. But in a woman's heart there is a strength and truth which asks no praise, and can be but known to him whose treasure it is.[42]

Again in keeping with Hardy's parson, Godfrey understands that his wife must be kept hidden from those who would recognise her unsuitable social background, and she remains secreted away in the cottage provided by Dr Armstrong. Neither vicar nor Rugby star consider the strength of the woman who suffers upheaval in the name of love; they thus, fail to treasure these attributes. As one who is chivalrous and manly, Godfrey attempts to fulfil his 'devoir' on the rugby field, but is compelled to return to his wife's bedside when he discovers her last

[40] Braudy, *From Chivalry to Terrorism: War and the Changing Nature of Masculintiy*, p. 340.
[41] Thomas Hardy, 'The Son's Veto' in *The Withered Arm and other Wessex Tales* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1984), p. 39.
[42] Conan Doyle, *The White Company*, p. 243.

moments are near. Such however, was Victorian society and the laws of inheritance that Godfrey must hide his wife away rather than be seen to fight for her in public. It is a sad fall from the high chivalry of Sir Nigel to the attempted gallantry of Godfrey; between the two tales, there is an inkling of Conan Doyle's ideals and his desire to balance the *fin-de-siècle* remnants of chivalry with traditional manly characteristics.

Setting his tales of Sir Nigel in medieval times allows Conan Doyle more leeway in dealing with challenges, fights and manliness. However, when addressing the same issues in his own time, he has to moderate the terms of battle to fit the contemporary urban landscape; issues become more complex when dealing with a more developed society. While Lady Mary Loring is clearly no beauty, Sir Nigel would uphold her honour publicly against all-comers regardless of the harm to himself. Contrarily, the intransigence of Lord Mount-James combined with Godfrey's desire to succeed to both title and money, compels Godfrey to be more pragmatic and conceal his socially-inferior wife until such time as he realises his inheritance. Possibilities of further social discomfort are removed by her death and, while the young man is distraught by her passing, the suggestion is that he has fulfilled his manly duty and that his future path in society will be smoother without her. Conan Doyle depicts an anomalous conundrum for society in this tale as, although he criticises controlling manipulation within inheritance practices, he does not allow a happy outcome for the couple who attempt to flout them in the name of love. Holmes acts as the catalyst to allow society to assimilate this idea while realising that it does not harm Godfrey's manly standing. It is possible that Conan Doyle might have considered death as the kindest release for Mrs Staunton as a message that society was not yet ready to accept such a radical crossing of class

boundaries; Hardy's story gives some insight into the unhappiness of the wife in a similar situation as she is removed from her own environment into one of her husband's choosing. Twycott's attempts to improve his wife socially failed as she embarrasses her son with her west-country accent and dialect. On the death of her husband, left living a lonely life in the house he has bequeathed her, Sophy Twycott meets her previous love and plans to leave the city for a life of companionable happiness in the country. Class prejudice instilled in her son turns him into an inflexible snobbish bully as he forces his mother to relinquish her only chance at happiness condemning her to a despondently lonely death. It is reasonable to extrapolate that Godfrey's wife may have suffered a similar existence, isolated and unable to adapt to his expectations and those of his acquaintances. By her death, Godfrey's social equilibrium is secured and he remains 'a model of manly and moral friendship [...] in which the commingling sense of duty, patriotism, and moral [...] fervour was authenticated.'[43] Conan Doyle, while promoting marriage for love rather than by arrangement, does warn against a 'commingling' of social classes and intellectual planes.

Upholding a lady's honour in a more traditionally gallant manner is portrayed in 'The Beryl Coronet'.[44] Arthur Holder maintains silence and accepts the possibility of punishment and disgrace rather than betray the woman he loves. This story provides an interesting interplay between four diverse models of Victorian masculinity: Alexander Holder, the banker who is entrusted with the coronet; the owner of the coronet, 'one of the highest, noblest, most exalted names in England'; Holder's son, Arthur, and Arthur's rakish friend, Sir George

[43] Braudy, *From Chivalry to Terrorism: War and the Changing Nature of Masculinity*, pp. 341-342.
[44] Conan Doyle, 'The Beryl Coronet', in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes*, p. 257-271.

Burnwell (Beryl Coronet, p. 258). In the urban field of battle, masculine social stereotypes become more fluid within a society where 'the emphasis was always on the process by which boys did – or did not – become men'.[45] The training boys received in public school, and later through the scouting movement, substituted an urban code of honour for that which soldiering would previously have given them. Although Holder questions 'the propriety of [his] leaving it', this exalted personage is virtually pawning 'one of the most precious public possessions of the Empire' in order to obtain temporary funds ('Beryl Coronet', p. 259). Holder fails to uphold correct social values as he is caught up in an economic bargain that illustrates 'an interesting symbiosis of bourgeois and aristocratic interests'.[46] Both parties were subject to deceptions that amounted to inappropriate behaviour; the aristocrat has a problem he wishes to hide from his peers and the banker is making a substantial profit from the loan. Despite his initial 'misgivings', the banker allows his fears to be allayed by the sense of prestige and trust his illustrious client bestows on him. Within this transaction the balance of honour and dishonour are disturbed. Alexander Holder further transgresses the bounds of honour on the theft of the coronet. Once again, Conan Doyle highlights how irregularities perpetuated within a level of aristocracy which should command respect have a detrimental effect on masculinities which are in transition. The dichotomy of traditional hegemony and changing times causes discord within the Holder household. Neither Mary nor Sir George Burnwell are suspected of the theft due to the traditional and trusted position of Mary within the family and the rank of Sir George, despite his reputation as a decadent and philanderer. Rather, the banker instantly jumps to the conclusion of his son's guilt, allowing him no honourable outcome and showing no faith in him. It is right that Arthur Holder, chivalric and prepared to

[45] Braudy, *From Chivalry to Terrorism: War and the Changing Nature of Masculinity*, p. 365.
[46] Jann, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: Detecting Social Order,* p. 96.

give up all to preserve the honour of the lady he loves, is the only one to come out of the episode with integrity and probity. Holder shows no faith in his son's upbringing or in his virtues of 'truthfulness, obedience, subordination of self to the needs of others – which were learned and practiced within the family.'[47] As Jann says:

> Holder is obsequiously willing to overlook – for that matter to facilitate – the noble's reckless attempts to conceal his irresponsibility, while condemning his own son for having the honesty to admit to the need for money to those closest to him.[48]

It is possible that Holmes recognises and respects that chivalric code displayed by Arthur as he swiftly rules out the young man as a suspect and searches elsewhere for the culprit. Holmes has a much clearer perspective than the banker whose hysteria and panic remove all logical processes from his being. His clear bias towards influential social rank outweighs the pragmatic approach Holder should responsibly adopt; the ensuing troubles which threaten his honour are a direct result of this pandering. Conan Doyle, in the Holmes tales, continually explores the trope of behaviour implicated in a chivalrous approach to manliness in order to criticise deviant aristocrats who, like Corelli and Grand's corrupt London thrill-seekers, had no contributory purpose in the evolving *fin-de-siècle* capital city.

Urban honour, however, proves quite a different matter from honour on the battlefield; in his commercial setting, a banker's reputation and honour are his most valuable assets. When his integrity is challenged and at stake, Holder disintegrates into a hysterical 'madman' who elicits 'horror and pity' from Holmes and Watson as he 'swayed his body and plucked at

[47] Mallett, "Women and Marriage in Victorian Society", p. 159.
[48] Jann, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: Detecting Social Order,* p. 97.

his hair [...] he beat his head against the wall with such force that [the two detectives] both rushed upon him and tore him to the centre of the room' ('Beryl Coronet', p. 257). Used to the ebb and flow of City life and raised for a life of cerebral exertion, the banker is unable to withstand a concerted attack on the principles which constitute his manliness. It thus becomes necessary for Holmes and Watson to perform the role of surrogate knights to fight for his cause. Elaine Showalter quotes Mark Micale in saying that 'hysteria is "not a disease; rather, it is an alternative physical, verbal, and gestural language, an iconic social communication."'[49] In Holder's case, it is a physical indicator of powerlessness. Holder is communicating his extreme 'fear, shock, and terror' which Ruth Harris found 'appeared frequently as possible causes of male hysteria'.[50] In an age where men were expected to appear stoic wherever possible, this reaction underlines the seriousness of possible ruin in every aspect of the banker's life and the inability of the weaker urban male to rise to a challenge. Arthur Holder, with his stoic, manly adherence to his strong moral values, provides an example of urban masculinity which, like Holmes's example, can strive to adapt to a redefined knightly code that will envelop old traditions within new moral practices and thus stand as an example for others to follow.

An inability to cope with the challenge and stress signal a lack of understanding of the nuances of the urban battlefield and indicate that the changing environment required a change of tactics. There arose a need to bolster, or even transfer, the core attribute of physical strength with a complementary inner strength and courage to enable an evolution of successful urban

[49] Showalter, *Hystories*, p. 7.
[50] Showalter, *Hystories*, p. 68.

masculinity. However, this did not come easily to those bred for a sedentary life. The phenomenon of hysteria is seen once again in 'The Naval Treaty', where Percy Phelps occupies a 'situation of trust and honour' at the Foreign Office until the plans he is copying mysteriously disappear ('Naval Treaty', p. 411).[51] On discovering that he cannot find them, he fails to maintain control as, rather than employ rational, tactical thinking, he relinquishes his hold on his manliness and succumbs to 'a fit at the station, and before [he] reached home was practically a raving maniac' ('Naval Treaty', p. 418). In this case, the treaty involves serious government secrets and possible danger to the whole country; Phelps's hysteria is in proportion to the danger posed as a result of his carelessness. Hannah Arendt propounds a theory that could explain Phelps's breakdown:

> when we say of somebody that he is "in power" we actually refer to his being empowered by a certain number of people to act in their name. The moment the group, from which the power originated to begin with [...] disappears, "his power" also vanishes.[52]

Bestowed with a position of power and trust within the Foreign Office, Phelps is extremely happy, but once this position is placed in jeopardy "his power", and with it his manliness, deserts him. This is compounded by his being cast adrift from 'the group from which his power originated'. Unlike Holder, Phelps makes a physical attempt to track down the papers, and while doing this 'action had numbed thought' ('Naval Treaty', p. 418). However, like Holder, he is unaccustomed to physical exercise and unable to sustain it; once his cerebral energies take over he cannot maintain a manly position and, intuiting that he 'was ruined, shamefully, hopelessly ruined', he sinks into a hysterical stupor and raves with brain fever for

[51] Conan Doyle, 'The Naval Treaty' in *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes,* pp. 411-432.
[52] Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York: Viking, 1971), as quoted in Kimmel, *The Gendered Society,* pp. 100-101.

'over nine weeks' ('Naval Treaty' p. 418). Showalter's discussion on studies of hysteria in the late nineteenth century shows that people like Charcot and Myers thought that male hysteria was a circumstance which affected lower and working class men only.[53] Charcot also proposed that men did not display a frenzy similar to that of women, but that it seemed 'to be much more serious and to bring with it an infinitely more serious prognosis' than its 'feminine form'.[54] The hysterical outbursts that Conan Doyle's characters portray do not fit this picture as the men descend into an agitated delirium which instantly passes once Holmes solves their problems, the threat to their honour is lifted and normative masculinity is restored. It is, therefore, a thing quite independent of previous studies and exhibits itself as a direct result of societal challenge to the integrity and rectitude of the metropolitan male who has no expertise outwith his own restrictive sphere and must thus have need of an urban knight to defend him. Joseph Kestner theorises that in serialising the Holmes stories, Conan Doyle 'was advancing an explicit masculine project [...] which would render the illusion of an unchanging and universalising masculinity'.[55] On the contrary, Conan Doyle, aware of how chivalric behaviour should manifest itself in a manly way, opens a dialogue of metamorphic masculinities which are not yet stable, but require continued vigilance and support. In this way, there is hope for these masculinities to develop in a healthy society where gender roles can be explored in a paradigm that promotes a tensile resoluteness which can bend with the demands of the era.

[53] This discussion can be found in: Showalter, *Hystories*, pp. 67-73.
[54] Showalter, *Hystories*, p. 68.
[55] Joseph A. Kestner, Sherlock's Men: Masculinity, Conan Doyle and Cultural History (England: Ashgate Publishing, 1997), p. 76.

Conan Doyle also warns that the traditional cad is still functioning within *fin-de-siècle* society as both the above tales contain men with no moral conscience who have sunk themselves into debt by their own irresponsibility. Sir George Burnwell is a traditional rake figure who used his lascivious wiles to tempt the innocent and insulated Mary to conspire against her family, assist him in his heinous enterprise and run off with him. Joseph Harrison has played in stocks and shares unsuccessfully and 'is ready to do anything on earth to better his fortunes' ('Naval Treaty', p. 431). He is prepared to destroy his prospective brother-in-law and thus his sister's future happiness in order to turn a profit for his own comfort. Both men are a danger to society, portraying nothing but selfishness in their motives and, therefore, have no place within a respectable, caring culture. However, sadly, neither of them is brought to justice by the law as a scandal that would disrupt and threaten the upper echelons of society could not be contemplated. Instead, ostracism is imposed on them with the suggestions that Burnwell may be redeemed somewhat by the influence of Mary, but Harrison is irredeemable and, without the support of his sister, will sink himself into moral turpitude.

These men, and others in the Holmes canon, are denied influence and are thus not permitted to disrupt the energies of society. Where men are morally strong, but lack the physical wherewithal to fight evil in their urban environment, Holmes and Watson step in to crusade on the side of right. Conan Doyle portrays the changes in both the role of the gentleman and that of the urban male and explores the strengths and weaknesses of both alongside their potential effect on society. On balance, the aristocrat would appear to have had little future in *fin-de-siècle* culture, but his replacement, the gentleman of business, had to

develop a more courageous resolution if he was to uphold the dignity of civic society against the threat of canker and conflict from within. Rosemary Jann sums this up succinctly: 'by repeatedly presenting a hero confronting and vanquishing recognisable psychic and physical threats, the Holmes stories reassure readers about the essential correctness of their values and the security of their social order.'[56] This, in turn, provided *Fin-de-siècle* masculinities with a stable base from which to explore with confidence the changes pertaining to constantly evolving gender positions within a constantly evolving social arena.

[56] Jann, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: Detecting Social Order*, p. 42.

CONCLUSION

> It is not that men have not the power of self-restraint [...,] it is that they lack the motive [...;] vice is considered manly.[1]

This quotation from 1872, highlights a proportion of thought around masculinities and the social construction of manliness approaching the *fin de siècle*. That this had to change has, I hope, been shown in this thesis. The texts I have examined explore, problematize and rework ideas of masculinity and manliness at a time when society was becoming increasingly self-conscious of the need for a 'path of improvement' that would lead to the reconfiguration of gender relationships.[2]

In their continued search for aspects of gender identity that would allow women to move into a more public sphere and men to adapt to this, many *fin-de-siècle* authors explored the contentious issues this dilemma presented. It can be seen from this work that women authors demanded fundamental changes in the idea that 'vice [was] considered manly' and promoted the idea that men should not be allowed to introduce, to their wives and families, disease caused by their philandering. Bland says that 'several doctors [of the time] advised young men to keep a mistress or go to prostitutes until they married', highlighting that this kind of behaviour was condoned by some as necessary for manly survival and health.[3] Butler's campaign against the Contagious Diseases Acts and their degradation of women

[1] T. L. Nichols, *Human Physiology: The Basis of Sanitary and Social Science* (London: Trauber & Co., 1882), p. 304, as quoted in Lucy Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Feminism, Sex and Morality*, p. 60.
[2] Perkins Gilman, *Women and Economics: A Study of the Economic Relation Between Men and Women*, p. xiii.
[3] Bland, *Banishing the Beast: Feminism, Sex and Morality*, p. 60.

spurred authors such as Caird and Grand to write radical fiction that would bring these issues and their detriments to the public eye. Despite opposition from dominant discourse proponents of both sexes, New Woman novels brought the Woman Question firmly into *fin-de-siecle* gender politics. While the selection of New Woman authors discussed in this thesis desired drastic changes to the situation that many found unpalatable, there were male authors who were also willing to consider that movements were needed on both sides of the gender gap.

As has been demonstrated, Bram Stoker and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle were amongst those who probed how changes could be effected without detrimentally damaging masculinities. It is clear from their works that they promoted modes of masculinity which, they felt, brought out the manly and upright aspects of their sex: adventuring, hunting and chivalry among them. While retaining these positive characteristics, they began to negotiate the actions and reactions precipitated by the freedoms women sought for themselves. Stoker positions two types of women as central to *Dracula* and thus is able to illustrate how men must evolve in line with women. Their reaction to the weak and submissive Lucy fails to save her, but Mina gains the autonomy to participate in her own salvation. In order to successfully renegotiate their gender positions, Stoker allows his heroes the failsafe of homosocial bonding to enable support in a positive manner that leads to a successful outcome for both sexes.

Likewise, Conan Doyle places his detectives in numerous situations that test their courage and determination, but creates the symbiotic relationship between his two protagonists to facilitate the same manly support that Stoker gives the Crew of Light. Women in the Holmes stories are rescued from a plethora of situations around marriage and

independence, but are generally accorded their own choice in the denouement of each tale. While for most of them the future involves marriage, the strong, such as Miss Violet Smith, are worthy of the career of their ambition. The overriding necessity for women such as Violet and Irene Adler, is that they are intelligent, intuitive and unafraid. This is in line with Stoker's Mina Harker and indicates that both authors were similarly willing to allow that women must have autonomy over their own being. This could only happen if they could create a resultant epistemology of masculinities that would permit men to negotiate progress for the betterment of both sexes.

It is possible that part of the reason these texts remain popular is that the process of rethinking gender is ongoing and thus they still have relevance within modern discursive fields. Recent reprints of texts by Grand, Caird, Corelli and Schreiner, among others, have seen their inclusion in university courses and at conferences; *The Story of an African Farm* has been interpreted in a film indicating wider appeal for the subject matter of Schreiner's tale.[4] Similarly both *Dracula* and the Holmes tales have inspired many renderings both in book and media formats. Within these, a number have negotiated gender issues and masculinities prevalent within the texts. Many vampire genre books and films have presented Dracula himself in a number of forms from predator in *Nosferatu* to the lover who seeks the reincarnation of his former wife, Elizabetha, as Mina Murray in Francis Ford Coppola's *Dracula*.[5] The more recent television adaptation also suggests a more loving side of Dracula in his attempts to woo Mina, but juxtaposes it with the violence and cruelty of his frenzied

[4] *The Story of an African Farm*, David Lister, Director (October, 2004).
[5] *Nosferatu*, Director, F.W. Murnau, Eureka Entertainment, (1922); *Dracula*, Director, Francis Ford Coppola, UCA, (April, 2007).

feeding habits and ruthless treatment of his enemies.[6] Derivatives include Anne Rice's Vampire Chronicles, which adds powerful female vampires alongside their male sires and the Twilight series which suggests that vampires can have many desirable features.[7] Similarly, Sherlock Holmes has seen a number of incarnations both in print and media. ITV Studios' series of Holmes stories include Jeremy Brett's interpretation of the nuances of Holmes often-eccentric behaviour and shows a man aware of the manly role and responsibilities expected of him while at times struggling to maintain his equilibrium in quieter moments.[8] The most recent television adaptation explicitly subverts gender roles as Holmes's assistant becomes Joan Watson.[9] Every thoughtful reading of these texts keeps them relevant by not only opening up the period in which they were written, but also that in which they are read. This can lead to the suggestion that it is not merely that we read these texts, but that they continue to read us.

[6] *Dracula*, Universal Pictures U.K. (February, 2014).
[7] Anne Rice, *The Vampire Chronicles* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2003) and Stephenie Meyer, *The Twilight Saga* (Great Britain: Atom, 2012).
[8] *Sherlock Holmes: The Complete Collection*, ITV Studios Home Entertainment (August, 2009).
[9] *Elementary*, Paramount Home Entertainment (December, 2013).

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